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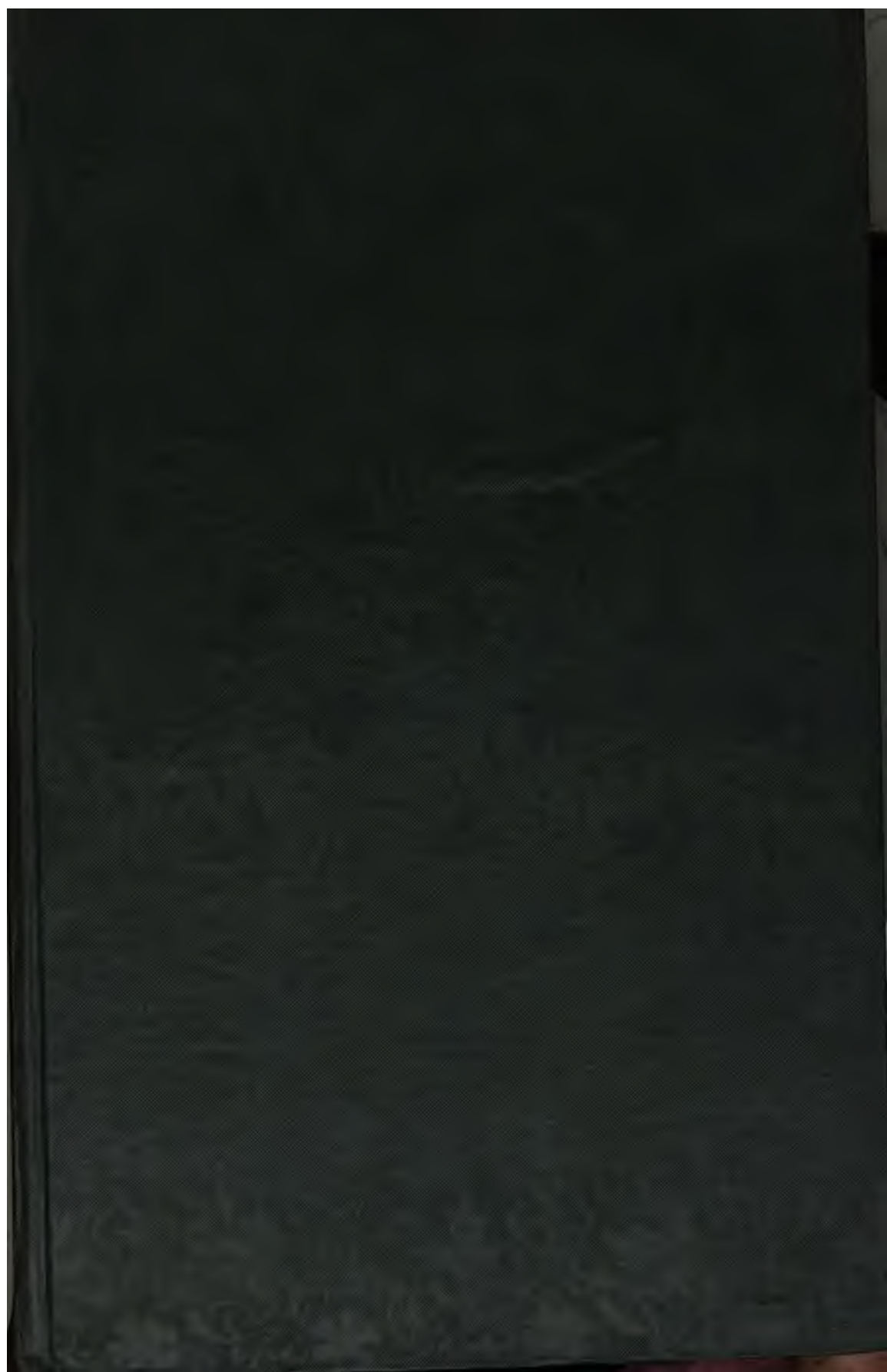
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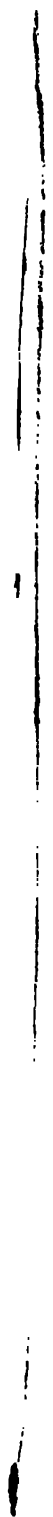
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LIVES OF EMINENT





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LIVES OF EMINENT  
AND  
ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMEN.

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**Charles II.**

BORN A. D. 1630.—DIED A. D. 1685.

CHARLES II., son of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria of France, was born at Whitehall, on the 29th of May, 1630. He was living at the Hague, under the protection of his brother-in-law, the prince of Orange, when his father was beheaded. On the announcement of that event, he assumed the royal title, and began to concert measures for the recovery of the crown of England. The Scots proclaimed him their king, at the cross of Edinburgh, on the 5th of February, 1649; but to this proclamation they appended the provision, that before the new prince should enter on the exercise of royal authority, he should give in his adhesion to the solemn league and covenant. The Scottish parliament also sent commissioners to Holland for the purpose of making a formal offer of allegiance to Charles; but the conditions with which they coupled it were of so embarrassing a kind, at this very critical juncture, that Charles hesitated to pledge himself to them, and at last dismissed the commission with an unsatisfactory answer. An invitation from Ormond to land in Ireland, where the royal cause was now predominant, presented more inviting prospects, and was accepted; but the charms of a mistress detained him, while on his route to Ireland, at St Germain, until the success of Cromwell's arms had annihilated the hopes of the royalists in that quarter. While at St Germain, he gave Montrose a commission to raise the royal standard in the Highlands of Scotland. On the signal failure of that attempt, with characteristic perfidy, he addressed a letter to the Scottish parliament, in which he protested that he had expressly forbidden Montrose to proceed on his expedition, and affected to rejoice in his failure. In the same despatch he declared his willingness to take the solemn league and covenant,—to put down the catholic religion throughout his dominions, and to govern in civil matters by advice of the parliament, in religion, by that of the kirk.<sup>1</sup> These provisions satisfied the Scots, and, in

<sup>1</sup> Thurloe, vol. i. p. 147.

June, 1649, he landed in Scotland, and was received with royal honours. On the first day of January, 1651, Charles was crowned at Scone, after having sworn to abolish all false religions, and to establish the presbyterial government in Scotland and in his own family. The advance of Cromwell, and his repeated victories over the Scottish forces, soon placed Charles in a position of considerable embarrassment; but he escaped the pressing danger of the moment by executing a rapid march into England, from Stirling, in the direction of Carlisle. The protector followed him hard, however; and the battle of Worcester, fought on the 3d of September, 1651, annihilated the dawning hopes of the royalists, and compelled Charles once more to seek safety in flight to a foreign country. His adventures after his escape from the fatal field of Worcester, until he got embarked for France, were of the most romantic description; but are too well known to need detail here. Suffice it to say, that the hardships which he encountered on this occasion did him no small service, by enlisting the sympathies of those to whom they were related, and investing his character—hitherto of little estimation in the public eye—with somewhat of the qualities of a hero and a monarch.

Paris was the place which Charles first fixed upon as a residence during this, his second exile, but his licentious character soon stripped him of the respect of the French court, and, in a moment of spleen, he retired to Cologne, where he continued to relieve the tediousness of exile in no very dignified manner. In a letter to his aunt, the queen of Bohemia, written during the time which he passed at this latter city, we find him complaining of the want of good fiddlers, and of some one capable of teaching himself and his court the new dances!\*

We have already related, in our notice of General Monk, the manner in which that officer effected the restoration of Charles. It is difficult, however, to account for the very general satisfaction with which the prince was received back to the throne of his ancestors, upon the strength of no other provisions than those contained in the celebrated declaration of Breda. That document granted, 1st, A free and general pardon to all subjects of his majesty, excepting such as might afterwards be excepted by parliament. 2d, It declared a full toleration on the subject of religion. 3d, It left the settlement of all differences arising out of occurrences during the revolution, to the wisdom of parliament. And lastly, it promised to liquidate the arrears due to the army. Let us see how these stipulations were observed. A few days after his landing in England, Charles issued a proclamation, in which he commanded his father's judges to surrender themselves within fourteen days, on pain of forfeiture of life and estate. A new act of uniformity was, ere long, promulgated, by which every beneficed minister, every fellow of a college, and every schoolmaster, was required to declare his unfeigned assent to all and every thing contained in the book of common prayer; and every minister was required publicly to declare, that it is not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king. In less than two years from the time of the passing of the act of uniformity, the conventicle act was passed, for the purpose of putting down all non-conformist

\* Ellis's Original Letters, 2nd series.

worship. These penal severities were followed up by the Oxford act, which enacted, that all non-conforming ministers who should refuse to swear "not to endeavour, at any time, any alteration of government in church or state," should be excluded from inhabiting incorporations, and should not be suffered to come within five miles of any city or place where they had preached. The kind of respect which he bore for the power and authority of parliament was evinced in his speech at the opening of the session of 1664, in which he vehemently urged the repeal of the triennial act, and spoke of his never suffering a parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that bill.

Charles's council was of an exceedingly heterogeneous character. It consisted of the royal brothers, James and Henry, Hyde the chancellor, Ormond the lord-steward, Lord Culpepper master of the rolls, and Secretary Nicholas. Then came Monk, and his friend, Morrice, and all the surviving counsellors of the First Charles, some of whom had maintained the cause of the parliament against the crown. Of all these, Hyde was the presiding and master-spirit, however, and the counsels given by him Charles implicitly adopted. The trial of the regicides, and the conferences at the Savoy, the trial and death of Argyle, and the re-establishment of episcopacy in Scotland, were among the earliest events of Charles's reign.

In 1662, Charles married the infanta of Portugal. Bishop Burnet says that the king met Katherine at Winchester, in the summer of that year; that the archbishop of Canterbury went thither to perform the ceremony, but that the queen was bigotted to such a degree that she would not pronounce the words of the service, nor bear the sight of the archbishop; and that the king alone repeated the words hastily, whereupon the archbishop pronounced them married persons. He adds, "Upon this, some thought afterwards to have dissolved the marriage, as a marriage only *de facto*, in which no consent had been given; but the duke of York told me they were married by the lord Aubigny, according to the Roman ritual, and that he himself was one of the witnesses; and he added, that, a few days before he told me this, the queen had said to him that she heard some intended to call her marriage in question, and that if that was the case, she must call on him as one of the witnesses to prove it." Such is the bishop's statement. Lady Fanshawe, however, in her very interesting 'Memoirs,' informs us, that "as soon as the king had notice of the queen's landing, he immediately sent my husband that night to welcome her majesty on shore, and followed himself the next day; and, upon the 21st of May, the king married the queen at Portsmouth, in the presence-chamber of his majesty's house. There was a rail across the upper part of the room," Lady Fanshawe continues, "in which entered only the king and queen, the bishop of London, the marquess Desande, the Portuguese ambassador, and my husband; in the other part of the room there were many of the nobility and servants to their majesties. The bishop of London declared them married in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and then they caused the ribbons her majesty wore to be cut in little pieces, and, as far as they would go, every one had some." This account agrees pretty nearly with that of Bishop Kennet. The licentious monarch now boasted of the pattern of conjugal fidelity that he would



set to his court; and it would have been well for him, and for the nation at large, had he adhered to his resolutions; but his infamous paramour, Castlemaine, resumed her imperious sway within a few days after the king's marriage, and the poor queen was compelled not only to receive her at court, but to treat her as a friend, and load her with favours.

The following particulars from Pepys' diary will better illustrate the shameful licentiousness of this 'most religious and gracious' king, and his court, than any statements of our own:—"In the privy-garden," says Pepys, "saw the finest smocks and linen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's, laced with rich lace at the bottom, that ever I saw; and did me good to look at them. Sarah told me how the king dined at my Lady Castlemaine's, and supped, every day and night the last week; and that the night that the bonfires were made for joy of the Queene's arrivall, the King was there; But there was no fire at her door, though at all the rest of the doors almost in the street; which was much observed: and that the King and she did send for a pair of scales and weighed one another; and she, being with child, was said to be heaviest.

"Mr Pickering tells me the story is very true of a child being dropped at the ball at court; and that the king had it in his closet a week after, and *did dissect* it; and making great sport of it, said that in his opinion it must have been a month and three hours old; and that, whatever others think, he hath the greatest loss, (it being a boy, as he says,) that hath lost a subject by the business. He told me also how loose the court is, nobody looking after business, but every man his lust and gain; and how the king is now become besotted upon Mrs Stewart, that he gets into corners, and will be with her half an hour together kissing her to the observation of all the world; and she now stays by herself and expects it, as my Lady Castlemaine did use to do: to whom the king, he says, is still kind, &c.

"Coming to St James's, I hear that the queen did sleep five hours pretty well to-night. The king, they all say, is most fondly disconsolate for her, and weeps by her, which makes her weep; which one this day told me he reckons a good sign, for that it carries away some rheum from the head! She tells us that the queen's sickness is the spotted fever; that she was as full of the spots as a leopard: which is very strange that it should be no more known; but perhaps it is not so. And that the king do seem to take it much to heart, for that he hath wept before her; but, for all that, that he hath not missed one night since she was sick, of supping with my Lady Castlemaine; which I believe is true, for she says that her husband hath dressed the suppers every night; and I confess I saw him myself coming through the street dressing up a great supper to-night, which Sarah says is also for the king and her; which is a very strange thing.

"Pierce do tell me, among other news, the late frolick and debauchery of Sir Charles Sedley and Buckhurst running up and down all the night, almost naked, through the streets: and at last fighting, and being beat by the watch and clapped up all night; and how the king takes their parts; and my Lord-chief-justice Keeling hath laid the constable by the heels to answer it next sessions; which is a horrid shame. Also how the king and these gentlemen did make the fiddlers

of Thetford, this last progress, to sing them all the obscene songs they could think of! That the king was drunk at Saxam with Sedley, Buckhurst, &c. the night that my Lord Arlington came thither, and would not give him audience, or *could not*: which is true, for it was the night that I was there and saw the king go up to his chamber, and was told that the king had been drinking. He tells me that the king and my Lady Castlemaine are quite broke of, and she is gone away, and is with child, and swears the king shall own it; and she will have it christened in the chapel at White Hall so, and owned for the king's, as other kings have done; or she will bring it into White Hall gallery, and *dash the brains of it out before the king's face!* He tells me that the king and court were never in the world so bad as they are now, for gaming, swearing, women, and drinking, and the most abominable vices that ever were in the world; so that all must come to nought.

"They came to Sir G. Carteret's house at Cranbourne, and there were entertained, and *all made drunk*; and, being all drunk, Armerer did come to the king, and swore to him by God, 'Sir,' says he, 'you are not so kind to the duke of York of late as you used to be.'—'Not I?' says the king. 'Why so?'—'Why,' says he, 'if you are, let us drink his health.'—'Why let us,' says the king. Then he fell on his knees and drank it; and having done, the king began to drink it. 'Nay, Sir,' says Armerer, 'by God you must do it on your knees!' So he did, and then all the company: and having done it, all fell a-crying for joy, *being all maudlin and kissing one another!* the king the duke of York,—and the duke of York the king! and in such a maudlin pickle as never people were: and so passed the day!"

These licentious courses kept the royal finances in a wretchedly low state. With the infanta, Charles had received a portion of £350,000. This sum afforded but a temporary relief to the needy monarch. The chancellor suggested the sale of Dunkirk to the French king as a means of recruiting the royal finances; the proposal was eagerly caught at, and a bargain was ultimately concluded for 5,000,000 of livres. This base transaction roused the public indignation, and Charles was ultimately compelled to dismiss his chancellor, who sought his own safety in exile.

In 1663, a rupture took place with Holland, which, as it proceeded from commercial rivalry, was willingly supported by the nation. The commons voted a supply of £2,500,000 for the expenses of the war, and James, as lord-high-admiral, soon put to sea with ninety-eight sail of the line. Victory crowned the English fleet, after a tremendous engagement off Lowestoffe, on the 3d of June 1665; but the breaking out of the plague in London so depressed the public mind that the intelligence of the triumphant success of the national arms was received without any adequate demonstration of joy. The great fire of London, by which two-thirds of the metropolis were reduced to ashes, added to the national gloom and Charles's embarrassment. An insurrection in the west and south of Scotland, provoked by the intolerance of the episcopal party, next engaged the distracted attention of the ministry. It was repressed by the efforts of Dalziel; but in appearance only. An unsubdued spirit of opposition to prelacy, and a keen sense of injury, still burned in the bosoms of the Scottish whigs, or covenanters, as they were called, and the new and rigorous laws passed by the parliament of Scotland in 1669, 1670, and 1672, aided by the still more tyranni-

cal regulations of the privy council, and the sanguinary administration of that heartless ruffian, Lauderdale, soon drove them once more into open insurrection.

The successful conclusion of Sir William Temple's mission to the Hague in 1668, for the purpose of negotiating an alliance against France, was one of the few public measures of this reign which deserve approbation; but whatever merit was due to the king himself, in this transaction, was more than neutralised by the secret treaty which he entered into with France in less than two years thereafter, for the purpose of changing "the religion and subverting the constitution of England." Of this treaty little was certainly known at the time. All the parties concerned observed an impenetrable secrecy respecting it. It is now known that the principal articles were—1st. That the king of England should publicly profess himself a catholic, at such time as should appear to him most expedient, and, subsequently to that profession, should join with Louis in a war against the Dutch republic; and 2dly. That, to enable the king of England to suppress any insurrection which might be occasioned by the avowal of his conversion, the king of France should grant him an aid of £2,000,000 of livres, besides assisting him with an armed force. It is uncertain when Charles II. first thought of becoming a catholic. But it is a fact that in the beginning of the year 1659, the duke of Ormond accidentally detected him on his knees at mass, in a church at Brussels. He imparted the secret to Clarendon and Southampton, who judged it prudent to conceal the truth. Accordingly, the act 'for the better security of his majesty's person and government' provided that to affirm the king to be a papist should be punishable by disability to hold any office in the state, civil, military, or ecclesiastical.

Nothing could be more disgraceful than Charles's utter abandonment of every principle of honour, and justice, and morality, from the time that he threw himself into the hands of the five unprincipled ministers, Arlington, Clifford, Buckingham, Lauderdale and Ashley, collectively called *the Cabal*. In 1677, however, he performed a popular act by marrying his niece, the princess Mary, to the prince of Orange.

The next year was distinguished by the pretended discovery of the popish plot, founded upon the monstrous fictions of Titus Oates and Bedloe. The fears of the country were now so effectually excited, that the duke of York found it prudent to retire to Brussels, and Charles was obliged to grant his consent to that great palladium of civil liberty, the *habeas corpus* bill. At last, the king came to an open rupture with his parliament, and finding that he could not bend it to his own purposes, he resolved to govern without it. Already had the blood of Russell and of Sidney flowed upon the scaffold, and new and still fiercer measures were preparing for extinguishing the last spark of liberty, and converting the government of England into an absolute monarchy, when the hand of death arrested the profligate monarch in the midst of his licentious and unprincipled career. He expired in February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age.

The character of Charles II. has been thus drawn by Mr Fox:—"From the facts which have been stated," he observes, "we may collect, that his ambition was directed solely against his subjects, while

he was completely indifferent concerning the figure which he or they might make in the general affairs of Europe; and that his desire of power was more unmix'd with the love of glory than that of any other man whom history has recorded; that he was unprincipled, ungrateful, mean and treacherous; to which may be added, vindictive and remorseless. For Burnet, in refusing to him the praise of clemency and forgiveness, seems to be perfectly justifiable; nor is it conceivable upon what pretence his partizans have taken this ground of panegyric. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced, of his having spared the life of any one, whom motives either of policy, or of revenge, prompted him to destroy.

“On the other hand, it would be want of candour to maintain, that Charles was entirely destitute of good qualities; nor was the propriety of Burnet's comparison between him and Tiberius ever felt, I imagine, by any one but its author. He was gay and affable; and, if incapable of the sentiments belonging to pride of a laudable sort, he was at least free from haughtiness and insolence. The praise of politeness—which the Stoics are not perhaps wrong in classing among the moral virtues, provided they admit it to be one of the lowest order—has never been denied him; and he had in an eminent degree that facility of temper which, though considered by some moralists as nearly allied to vice, yet, inasmuch as it contributes greatly to the happiness of those around us, is, in itself, not only an engaging, but an estimable quality. His support of the queen during the heats raised by the Popish plot, ought to be taken rather as a proof that he was not a monster, than to be ascribed to him as a merit; but his steadiness to his brother, though it may and ought, in a great measure, to be accounted for upon selfish principles, had at least a strong resemblance to virtue.

“The best part of this prince's character seems to have been his kindness towards his mistresses, and his affection for his children, and others nearly connected to him by the ties of blood. His recommendation of the dutchess of Portsmouth and Mrs Gwyn upon his deathbed, to his successor, is much to his honour; and they who censure it, seem, in their zeal to show themselves strict moralists, to have suffered their notions of vice and virtue to have fallen into strange confusion. Charles's connexion with those ladies might be vicious; but, at a moment when that connexion was upon the point of being finally and irrevocably dissolved, to concern himself about their future welfare, and to recommend them to his brother with earnest tenderness, was virtue. It is not for the interest of morality that the good and evil actions, even of bad men, should be confounded. His affection for the duke of Gloucester, and for the dutchess of Orleans, seems to have been sincere and cordial. To attribute, as some have done, his grief for the loss of the first to political considerations, founded upon an intended balance of power between his two brothers, would be an absurd refinement, whatever were his general disposition; but when we reflect upon that carelessness which, especially in his youth, was a conspicuous feature of his character, the absurdity becomes still more striking. And though Burnet more covertly, and Ludlow more openly, insinuate that his fondness for his sister was of a criminal nature, I never could find that there was any ground whatever for such a suspicion; nor does the little that remains of their epistolary correspondence give it the smallest

countenance. Upon the whole, Charles the Second was a bad man, and a bad king: let us not palliate his crimes; but neither let us adopt false or doubtful imputations, for the purpose of making him a monster."

### Sir George Ayscough.

DIED CIR. A. D. 1673.

THE maritime annals of Great Britain, during the reign of the second Charles, present many illustrious names, among which that of Sir George Ayscough holds a distinguished place. Sir George was descended of an ancient Lincolnshire family. On the breaking out of the civil wars, he adhered to the parliament; and when seventeen ships went over to the prince of Wales in 1648, Sir George brought his ship, the *Lion*, into the Thames. This conduct procured for him the confidence of the parliament, who immediately sent him over to the Dutch coast to observe the motions of his late associates. In 1649, he was constituted admiral of the Irish seas; and in 1651 he was sent to reduce the Scilly islands, then held by Sir John Grenville for Charles II. In this latter year he sailed for Barbadoes, where he summoned Lord Willoughby to submit to the authority of the parliament of England, and finally compelled that nobleman to acquiesce in the conditions offered to him.

In Lilly's almanack for 1653, we find the following observations under the head of August 16, 1652:—"Sir George Ayscue, near Plymouth, with 14 or 15 ships only, fought 60 sail of Dutch men-of-war; had thirty shot in the hull of his own ship. Twenty merchantmen never came in to assist him, yet he made the Dutch give way. Why our state shall pay those ships that fought not, we of the people know not. This is he that is a gentleman, lives like a gentleman, and acts the part of a generous commander in all his actions." The issue of this action, as well as the strength of the opposing fleets, is variously related by different historians. In the life of De Ruyter, it is affirmed that his squadron consisted of 50 men-of-war; and that advice of their arrival off the isle of Wight having been received by the English parliament, Sir George, who then commanded a fleet of 40 men-of-war in the west, was ordered to stretch over the channel to hinder, or at least dispute the passage of the Dutch fleet; that the two fleets came to close quarters about four in the afternoon, and that the fight was obstinately maintained on both sides until nightfall. Whitlocke says the Dutch fleet consisted of 80 sail; that the action lasted three days; that Sir George Ayscough's squadron consisted of 38 ships of war, and four fire-ships, and that the Dutch admiral was sunk. Ledyard, who probably had access to good private information, says Sir George broke the enemy's line, and weathered them; but that, after this advantage, not being duly supported by the other ships, he retired to Plymouth during the night.

The parliament acknowledged Sir George's merits by granting him an estate of £300 per annum in Ireland, with the present of a sum of money; but not wholly approving of his conduct at Barbadoes, they dismissed him from service. Sir George bore his disappointment with

great equanimity. He retired into the country to a house in Surrey, which Whitlocke describes as so environed with ponds, moats, and water, that it resembled a ship at sea. Here he declared he meant to cast anchor for the rest of his life, but Cromwell prevailed on him to undertake the command of the fleet of Charles Gustavus of Sweden, then threatened by the Danes and Dutch. Sir George was received with great respect by the Swedes, and remained in this service till the death of Gustavus in 1663.

Returning home, soon after the Restoration, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the navy, and on the breaking out of the Dutch war in 1664, he went to sea as rear-admiral of the blue squadron, in which capacity he greatly distinguished himself in the engagement of the 3d of June, 1665. Next year Sir George hoisted his flag on board the *Royal Prince*, a ship of 100 guns, and was present at the great engagement which began on the 1st of June, between the Dutch fleet and the English. Towards the evening of the third day of that desperate fight, the *Royal Prince* unfortunately ran upon the sand-bank called the *Galloper*, and could not be got off. Sir George defended his vessel, with great resolution, until his men compelled him to surrender. The Dutch paid a high compliment to his bravery and worth in the extraordinary parade with which they exhibited their captive in different towns. He was closely imprisoned in the castle of Louvestein, but obtained his release soon after, and returned to his native country, where he spent the remainder of his days in comparative retirement. The date of his death is not certainly known. It appears that he was employed in 1668, and that he hoisted his flag on board the *Triumph* in 1671.

### *Sir Edward Spragge.*

DIED A. D. 1673.

ANOTHER name which graces the maritime annals of Charles the Second's reign is that of Sir Edward Spragge, who first appears as captain of the *Portland* in the year 1661. At the commencement of the Dutch war, in 1665, he was appointed to the *Royal James*, but was in a short time removed to the *Triumph*. In the great engagement betwixt the duke of York and Opdam, Spragge behaved with distinguished bravery. His services on this occasion were rewarded with the honour of knighthood. In the ensuing spring he was appointed to the *Dreadnought*, and served as rear admiral of the white. On the death of Sir William Berkeley, Spragge was named vice-admiral of the blue. In the action with the Dutch of the 24th July, 1666, the blue squadron, which was the weakest in the English fleet, found itself opposed to that of Van Tromp, which was the strongest division of the enemy's fleet. Notwithstanding of the odds in his favour, however, Van Tromp found himself so severely handled that, on the wind shifting, he availed himself of it to get out of the reach of his opponents.

Sir Edward commanded at Sheerness when that place was attacked by the Dutch in June 1667. The place itself was almost incapable of resistance; its whole defence consisted of a platform, on which were

mounted fifteen iron guns. Yet, with these insignificant means, he for a time successfully resisted the approach of the Dutch vessels, and finally made good his retreat to Gillingham. When Van Naes, the Dutch admiral, came up the river again, after his attempt upon Harwich, Sir Edward engaged him about the Hope, and with a considerably smaller force, succeeded in compelling him to retire into his own seas.

In 1669, on the appointment of the constable of Castile to the governorship of the Spanish Netherlands, Sir Edward was sent over to compliment him upon that occasion, and to promote the success of some political measures. In this new capacity he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his royal master. Soon after his return to England he sailed as vice-admiral of the fleet, under Sir Thomas Allen, destined to chastise the Algerines. Sir Thomas returned from the Straits in November, 1670, leaving Sir Edward commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. Towards the latter end of the ensuing April, having received intelligence of a number of Algerine corsairs laying in Bugia bay, Sir Edward determined on instantly attacking them. A first attempt failed, in consequence of an accident which happened to the fire-ship; and in the meantime the Algerines laboured incessantly to secure their vessels by a strong boom made of yards, topmasts, and cables, buoyed up by casks. On the 8th of May a fine easterly breeze having sprung up, Sir Edward bore into the bay, and came to anchor in four fathoms water, close under the castle, from which an incessant fire was kept up upon him for two hours. During this time the boats of the fleet were employed in cutting the boom, and clearing a passage for the fire-ship. When this service was effected, she was sent in, and the whole Algerine fleet, consisting of seven men-of-war, was destroyed. This important and daring exploit was achieved with the loss of only seventeen men killed, and forty-one wounded. It effectually crippled the power of the Algerines, and brought them to terms with the English government.

On the renewal of war with the Dutch in 1671, Sir Edward was appointed to serve in his old station of vice-admiral of the blue, and to him the duke of York confided the trust of equipping the fleet, and arranging every thing that was necessary for its future service. He was present at the battle of Solebay, and sunk one of the largest ships in the enemy's line.

On the death of the earl of Sandwich, Sir Edward succeeded him as admiral of the blue. Campbell says, with regard to this appointment, "When the duke of York, by the passing of the test act, was obliged to part with his command, and the court, to gratify the desires of the nation, lay under an absolute necessity of making use of Prince Rupert, they took care to secure the fleet notwithstanding, by employing on board such officers only as they could best and he could least trust." We are not quite disposed to adduce this statement as evidence that Sir Edward possessed "every virtue that could render a commander great, or human nature respectable."<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, we regard the fact of Sir Edward's appointment, in place of Sir Robert Holmes, whom the prince had specially recommended, as furnishing a very conclusive

<sup>1</sup> Charnock, vol. i. 74.

proof that Sir Edward was, with all his merits as a seaman, entirely under the influence of a corrupt and unprincipled government. The jealousy which existed between Sir Edward and his principal did not, however, prevent these brave officers doing their duty, nor blind them to each other's merits in the hour of battle. We find Prince Rupert, in a letter to the earl of Arlington, highly commending Sir Edward's bravery and indomitable resolution.

In the great and decisive engagement of the 11th of August, 1673, Sir Edward found himself once more opposed to his old rival, Van Tromp. Both, intent probably on encountering each other, had fallen several leagues to leeward of their own fleets. After several hours fighting, during which the two admirals twice found it necessary to go on board fresh ships, Sir Edward found it expedient—the ship in which he was then fighting, the *St George*, being almost a wreck—to remove on board a third ship, the *Royal Charles*. This was a necessary, perhaps, but a fatal resolution. The boat in which he placed himself had not rowed ten times its own length from the *St George*, before it was struck by a cannon shot, upon which the crew endeavoured to return to the *St George* again, but before they could effect their purpose, the boat went down, and Sir Edward, not being a swimmer, perished in the waves.

### Edward, Earl of Clarendon.

BORN A. D. 1608.—DIED A. D. 1673.

RIGHTLY to estimate the actions, and measure the moral worth of this eminent personage, is no easy task. He has been alternately deified and defamed for party-purposes. Southey declares him to have been the wisest and most upright of statesmen. Brodie hesitates not to represent him as a miserable sycophant and canting hypocrite. Hume speaks of him with the greatest respect and admiration. Hallam is cautious and guarded in his praise. Agar Ellis unhesitatingly pronounces him an unprincipled man of talent.

The subject of these conflicting opinions was born at Dinton in Wiltshire, in February 1608. His father was a private gentleman of an ancient Cheshire family of the name of Hyde. At the early age of thirteen, young Hyde was sent to Magdalene college, Oxford, whence, at the invitation of his uncle Nicholas Hyde, afterwards chief-justice of the king's bench, he removed to London, and applied himself to the study of the law. In his twenty-first year, he married the daughter of Sir George Ayliffe, but became a widower in the brief space of six months. Three years afterwards he married the daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, master of requests. He started almost at once into notice at the bar. His good fortune in this respect was probably not a little owing to the rule which, as he himself informs us in his '*Life*,' he early adopted, namely, to aim always at good company, and to select for his intimate associates none but persons considerable either for fortune, rank, or accomplishments. How well he carried this maxim into practice, appears from the list of his acquaintances, where amongst other names we find Ben Jonson, Selden, May, Sir Kenelm



Digby, Edmund Waller, Lucius Carey, Sheldon, Morley, Earles, Hales, and Chillingworth. But it was the patronage of the marquess of Hamilton, "who had at that time the most credit of any man about the court," and that of Archbishop Laud, that brought our young barrister most into repute in Westminster hall, and marked him out in the eyes of the world as a rising man. At this period, while diligent in his vocation, he appears to have occasionally indulged himself in the company of such men as the earl of Dorset, Lord Conway, and Lord Lumley, "men who excelled in gratifying their appetites," in other words, abandoned rakes. "In that very time," says Hyde in his *Life of himself*, "when fortune seemed to smile and to intend well towards him, and often afterwards, he was wont to say, that when he reflected upon himself, and his past actions, even from the time of his first coming to the Middle Temple, he had much more cause to be terrified upon the reflection, than the man had, who viewed Rochester-bridge in the morning that it was broken, and which he had galloped over in the night; that he had passed over more precipices than the other had done, for many nights and days and some years together, from which nothing but the immediate hand of God could have preserved him."

The best and brightest period in Hyde's history, is that in which he appears to us commencing his parliamentary career. In the long-parliament—in which he represented Saltash—he was active in exposing the court system, and in denouncing the illegal conduct of Strafford. At this juncture he was associated with such men as Falkland, Hales, and Chillingworth. But he had neither the integrity of purpose which distinguished these great men, nor was he comparable to any of them in talents. On the approach of direct hostilities, Hyde withdrew to the king at York, by whom he was exceedingly well received. Towards the end of the year 1642, upon the promotion of Sir John Colepepper to the rolls, Hyde succeeded him in the chancellorship of the exchequer; the same year, he was knighted, and made a privy councillor, in which latter capacity he was ever sedulous in instilling into the ear of his royal master those miserable maxims of ecclesiastical polity which cost him his crown and his life. Southampton and Falkland, would have had Charles to yield some at least of the disputed points of prerogative and church-government, but their prudent counsels were checked and rendered abortive by the influence of Hyde, who had so far won upon the king's confidence and attachment that, in a letter to his queen, written about this time, he says, "I must make Ned Hyde secretary of state, for I can trust no one else." "During his (the king's stay) at Newcastle," says Brodie, "all the entreaties of the queen and his lay advisers, to yield to the presbyterian establishment, had utterly failed, and nothing could move him to accede to the less rigorous propositions of the army; but he had now become surrounded with advisers who approved of his resolution. These were ecclesiastics (Sheldon, Hammond, and others), who, having lost their livings, were hostile to any arrangement that should for ever exclude them from power. Lord Clarendon, too, encouraged him by letters, to the same course. Exempted himself from pardon by all the propositions, he founded all his hopes of being restored to his country, and rewarded by the crown, on a steady refusal of accommodation—which, however fatal it might prove to his present master, would, he flattered himself, ultimately be

triumphant in the person of the prince. It therefore appears, by his private correspondence, that he deemed it better that the king should fall a victim to his principles than yield to his enemies. In the clash of parties he expected that the successor would be recalled unshackled; but thought that if what he supposed the best jewels of the crown were once renounced, they might never be recovered."

It was during his retirement in Jersey, that Hyde projected his two celebrated works, the 'History of the Rebellion,' and 'Memorials of his own Life.' These works have been published separately and under different titles, but they were originally intended to form one and the same book; we may speak of them therefore as one in this rapid sketch of their author. Hyde's historical writings are valuable as the testimony of one who was contemporary with the events he relates. Their style is in general lucid and flowing; and there is an air of liberality and high-mindedness infused into the whole which creates a very favourable impression for the author. Warburton declares that in the knowledge of human nature, "this great author excels all the Greek and Latin historians put together." This is large praise; but it is extravagant and untrue. There is little real political science in the work, and very little accurate analysis of the springs and workings of human conduct and the true motives of agents. "Clarendon's own idea of the 'genius and spirit and soul of an historian,' says an anonymous but able writer, may be gathered from one of his essays, where he speaks of those endowments as 'contracted by the knowledge and course and method of business, and by conversation and familiarity in the inside of courts, and the most active and eminent persons in the government.' Assuredly, whatever could be gained from such sources to the value of a history was combined in his; and it is difficult to resist the first impression of so dazzling and imposing an aggregate. But a closer view discovers by how very wide an interval is separated the ablest man of the world from the truly philosophical historian—how imperfectly the lore of court-intrigues and state-expedients can expound the great events of a political crisis, and how miserable a substitute for genuine candour and tolerance are the guarded phrase and tone of high society. It were vain to look to Clarendon for any thing like a rational account of the first springs of civil commotion; and his pages do not even exhibit the true interdependences and sequences of events at all more clearly than their origin. Every thing is referred to party cabals and personal influences with a truly court-like nearness and minuteness of vision; and the outward show of exemption from the passionate heats of controversy is belied by an intolerant zeal for mere names and forms, which, had it been expressed in uncouth language by uneducated men, would have been stigmatized as desperate and hopeless fanaticism. The historical merits of Clarendon have been modestly compared by his panegyrists to those of the great author of the 'History of Henry VII.' as his essays have in similar style been characterised by their editor as 'an appropriate companion to the little volume which contains the essays of Lord Bacon'—an instance of juxtaposition only allowable in reference to the size of the volumes—unless the circumstance of both authors having been chancellors of England be considered to complete the resemblance. However, the former parallel is at least less extravagant, from the marked inferiority

of Bacon's historical writings to the works of his earlier manhood and maturity, and receives a plausible colour from some outward points of resemblance with Clarendon's productions in the same department. Both employ a style of decoration and diffuseness—both betray a habit of minute observation of particulars apparently trifling, and both are in a certain degree obnoxious to the charge of courtly adulation and obsequiousness. But a more minute analysis of the accidental likeness, will discover the essential contrast. Bacon is diffuse from the exhaustless overflowings of a teeming mind, and ever active fancy—Clarendon from wilful amplifications and redundancies. The fund of observation in the latter is drawn chiefly from the circle of court-intrigue and personality—in the former from that of internal national changes and popular interests, of which courts have for the most part little cognizance. The instances of compromise and courtly adulation in both writers might more fairly admit of comparison, if Bacon had, like Clarendon, been roused to public life by the spirit-stirring alarms of a social revolution—those, however, who read him worthily may judge for themselves whether, like Clarendon, he would have learned from the events of that struggle little else than a besotted predilection for the code of persecution and tyranny.”<sup>1</sup>

In May 1648, Sir Edward was invited by the queen to attend her majesty in Paris. He accepted of the invitation, and was continued by Charles II. in his office of the exchequer and his seat at the privy-council. In November 1649, he was sent with Lord Cottington to the court of Madrid, for the purpose of engaging Spanish assistance for his master, but the mission was unsuccessful. From this period until the restoration, he resided mostly at Antwerp. Upon the return of Charles and his court to England, Hyde was rewarded for his many and valuable services with the chancellorship of the kingdom; and in November 1660, he was raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Hyde of Hindon, to which were added, in April following, the titles of Viscount Cornbury in Oxfordshire, and Earl of Clarendon in Wiltshire.

There is no doubt that till his fall, the public conduct of Clarendon was involved, and in a manner identified, with the general administration of the monarchy. Whatever was praiseworthy or obnoxious in the acts of Charles II. as king, originated, not with that dissolute monarch himself, but with his favourite and trusted minister. The declaration from Breda was certainly an extraordinary document viewed as coming from the pen of the man who had been the adviser of Charles I. on all subjects of ecclesiastical polity; that its terms should have been kept would have been still more surprising. A miserable attempt has been made to apologise for the perfidy of Charles and his minister in violating the spirit and letter of that declaration so soon after the restoration. It has been argued that the declaration only bore that until the subject should have been considered and determined by parliament, nobody should be molested on account of his religious principles; but that no pledge of constant toleration was either given or pretended to be given. It seems to us impossible that any man of common understanding or honesty should indulge in such a miserable sophistry as this. The sale of Dunkirk was another act of Clarendon's. Rapin

<sup>1</sup> Westminster Review, vol. xiii. pp. 158, 159.

affirms that it was the chancellor who proposed the bargain, negotiated it and concluded it. And D'Estrades, the French plenipotentiary, wrote to Louis XIV. that the chancellor had told him "that the thought of this treaty came from him, and did not conceal that the necessity of the English affairs had inspired him with it." The miserable conduct of the Dutch war was certainly in a great measure owing to the want of firmness and prudence on the part of the chancellor; but Mr Agar Ellis does not hesitate to accuse Clarendon of treachery as well as imbecility in the negotiation of public affairs. "Whether," says he, "Clarendon house was erected with French or Dutch money, or with both, it is impossible for us, at this distance of time, with the slender evidence upon the subject we possess, to decide. After, however, all that has been previously brought forward with respect to the corruption of the chancellor upon the subject of Dunkirk, the question of whether he erected his house with the money so received is not of much importance in any way to either his fame or his character." Pepys, who declares that the chancellor was his 'particular kind friend on all occasions' does not scruple to represent him as an avaricious being whose soul was fixed upon scraping money together. And Lord Dartmouth has the following note on a passage in Burnet: "The earl of Clarendon, upon the restoration, made it his business to depress every body's merits to advance his own, and (the king having gratified his vanity with high titles) found it necessary towards making a fortune in proportion, to apply himself to other means than what the crown could afford; (though he had as much as the king could well grant:) and the people who had suffered most in the civil war were in no condition to purchase his favour. He therefore undertook the protection of those who had plundered and sequestered the others, which he very artfully contrived, by making the king believe it was necessary for his own ease and quiet to make his enemies his friends; upon which he brought in most of those who had been the main instruments and promoters of the late troubles, who were not wanting in their acknowledgments in the manner he expected, which produced the great house in the Piccadille, furnished chiefly with Cavaliers' goods, brought thither for peace-offerings, which the right owners durst not claim when they were in his possession. In my own remembrance Earl Paulett was an humble petitioner to his sons, for leave to take a copy of his grandfather's and grandmother's pictures (whole lengths, drawn by Vandike) that had been plundered from Hinton St George; which was obtained with great difficulty, because it was thought that copies might lessen the value of the originals. And whoever had a mind to see what great families had been plundered during the civil war, might find some remains either at Clarendon house, or at Cornbury."<sup>2</sup>

To these charges Mr Ellis has added some of a still graver character: They are, "his encouragement of the attempts to assassinate Cromwell; the act he passed upon the subject of the religion of Charles II.; and the blasphemous comparison he makes in his history in speaking of the execution of the first Charles. The first will tend to show how little scrupulous he was of the means he employed to compass his ends,—the second displays in full perfection the crooked policy of the thorough-

<sup>2</sup> Cited by Mr Agar Ellis, p. 28.

paced politician,—while the third gives us some notion of the degree of respect for religion entertained by this pretended patron of the Protestant faith. We find abundant proofs in the collection of the Clarendon State Papers, published at Oxford in 1786, of the connivance of the chancellor in the bloody designs of some of the more unprincipled cavaliers to murder Cromwell. Indeed, it appears that a regular account of the proceedings of these ruffians was sent to him, and that they were incited by him to persevere in them. It is not by any means impossible that he may even have been himself the author of some of these brilliant schemes. The death, by natural means, of Oliver Cromwell, on the 3d of September, 1658, prevented the chancellor from assisting in the perpetration of the crime, which it is proved by these documents, he had concurred in meditating. The guilt of intention, however, rests with him in the clearest and most satisfactory manner."

These are grave charges; but it seems due to Clarendon's memory to admit that there exists no positive proof of his ever having engaged in the assassination plot. As to Charles' popery, we have already noticed the fact of Clarendon's being informed of it; and there can be no doubt that he unhesitatingly sacrificed principle to policy in the measure which he adopted to conceal the real state of the king's sentiments on this point.

A perplexing and painful incident in Clarendon's life, was the marriage of his eldest daughter to the duke of York. She had been one of the maids of honour to the princess royal Henrietta, while in exile; and it was while in this situation that the duke first conceived a passion for her, and ultimately married her privately in 1659. Clarendon notices this affair, as if he had been wholly unconscious of the transaction until it blazed abroad. When he heard of his daughter's pregnancy he says that he "broke out into a very immoderate passion against her wickedness; and said, with all imaginable earnestness, that as soon as he came home he would turn her out of his house as a strumpet, to shift for herself, and would never see her again." When he heard that she was married, the case was ten times worse. "He fell"—as he himself expresses it—"into new commotions, and said, if that were true, he was well prepared to advise what was to be done; that he had much rather his daughter should be the duke's whore than his wife; in the former case nobody could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he was not obliged to keep a whore for the greatest prince alive. But if there were any reason to suspect the other, he was ready to give a positive judgment, that the king should immediately cause the woman to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard, that no person living should be permitted to come to her; and then, that an act of parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting off her head, to which he would not only give his consent, but would very willingly be the first man that should propose it." Something of this sort was strongly enough suggested by the situation in which Clarendon was placed: but who, besides a practised hypocrite, would have acted the part in such perfection? Or who could have acted the abject creature, so pleasing to kings, in a purer style than he did, a short time after, when the king was prepared to sacrifice him to the public indignation, which he had richly deserved? 'I am

so broken under the daily insupportable instances of your majesty's terrible displeasure, that I know not what to do, hardly what to wish . . . . . God knows I am innocent as I ought to be. But alas! your majesty's declared anger and indignation deprives me of the comfort and support even of my own innocence, and exposes me to the rage and fury of those who have some excuse for being my enemies; whom I have sometimes displeased, when (and only then), your majesty believed them not to be your friends. I should die in peace (and truly I do heartily wish that God Almighty would free you from further trouble by taking me to himself) if I could know or guess at the ground of your displeasure . . . . . As I have hope in heaven, I have never willingly offended your majesty in my life, and do, upon my knees, beg your pardon for any over bold or saucy expression I have ever used to you; which, being a natural disease in old servants who have received too much countenance . . . . I hope your majesty believes that the sharp chastisement I have received from the best natured and most bountiful master in the world, and whose kindness alone made my condition these many years supportable, has both enough mortified me as to this world, and that I have not the presumption, or the madness to imagine, or desire, ever to be admitted to any employment or trust again." The conclusion is worthy of the rest. He prays the king that he may be allowed to spend the small remainder of his life in some parts beyond the seas, never to return, where he may pray for the king, and never suffer the least diminution in his duty or obedience. This is a most extraordinary passage, and sets the chancellor in a very despicable and ridiculous light.

The first open attack upon Lord Clarendon was made by the earl of Bristol, who, in 1663, exhibited a charge of high treason against him in the house of lords. The charge was made in a fit of personal resentment, and issued in the discomfiture of its author. Not so, the displeasure of Buckingham and Lady Castlemaine. His refusal to allow his wife to visit the latter, had given mortal offence both to Charles and his mistress; and from that moment she readily conspired with Buckingham to work his ruin. An opportunity soon presented itself. When the Dutch fleet rode victorious in the mouth of the river, Clarendon had advised the king to dissolve the parliament, and support his troops by forced contributions. This counsel was now represented as a plan to govern the kingdom by a standing army and without a parliament. The imputation fired the public mind, and the flame was nursed by insinuations of venality and ambition, artfully directed against Clarendon. At last seventeen charges were framed by a committee of the lower house, upon which Clarendon was impeached at the bar of the house of lords. The bishops and many of the peers supported him; and after several animated debates, the impeachment was dismissed. But the commons held to their point; and the king himself having resolved to get rid of him, he was compelled to yield to his fate, and secretly withdrew to France. He bore with impatience the tedium of exile, and often petitioned for leave to return home; but the king was inexorable, and allowed his devoted servant to breathe his last in a foreign land. He died at Rouen in Normandy, in 1674.

"It is not easy," says a writer to whom we have been greatly indebted in the course of this article,— "It is not easy to ascend from

particulars to any general estimate of the character before us, as no philosophical or moral oasis appears in the life of Clarendon uninvaded by the blinding dust and hot breath of faction. Neither his futile efforts to philosophise upon events which he only viewed through a microscopic and discoloured medium, nor his affected equanimity in adverse affairs, which is belied by traits of bitter spite and vain anticipation, give any evidence of reflective and well-centred existence. Yet we cannot withhold our pity from the poor diseased old man, cast off by royal gratitude and by foreign hospitality; while we admire that force of self-delusion which led him, as he says, 'not to reflect upon any one thing he had done of which he was so much ashamed as he was of the vast expense he had made in the building of his house,' and that impotence of mind which laid him prostrate (to employ his own words,) 'so broken under the daily insupportable instances of his majesty's terrible displeasure, that he knew not what to do, hardly what to wish.' Alas for human nature! that such helpless debasement should be compatible with a rule of life which many still panegyrisise as a pattern of the highest morality. Alas for mankind! that if such instances affect them with a feeling of indignant amazement, that emotion rarely penetrates to the origin of the evil in the absence of some grand and guiding principle of action. There was a moment in our history when the civic wreaths of yore seemed interwoven with the mild domestic life of later ages. But it is past; and even youth deserts the school-themes of antiquity, and the monuments of old English patriotism, for the perplexed and tortuous paths of modern practical politics. Many a mind that would have spurned the slavish lessons of prerogative is poisoned with the lore of balances, influences, and compromises,—many an eye that would have kindled in the star-chamber sinks beneath the satire of some frivolous circle,—many a heart that would have sympathised and bled with Hampden's, learns to idolise human power, in the example of Cromwell; to disbelieve in human virtue, on the authority of Clarendon."

### **Sir William Morice.**

BORN A. D. 1602.—DIED A. D. 1676.

SIR WILLIAM MORICE was born at Exeter in the year 1602. His father, Dr John Morice, was chancellor of the diocese of Exeter. After the preliminary course of education, young Morice was entered of Exeter college, Oxford, where he had for tutor the learned Nathaniel Carpenter. Such was the diligence manifested by the young student, that Dr Prideaux used to say of him, "that though he was but little of stature, yet, in time, he would come to be great in the state." Having commenced bachelor of arts, he retired to his paternal estate, where he devoted himself to study. Prince, in his 'Worthies of Devon,' says that, in his younger years, he "was very much addicted to poetry and apothegmatical learning." He took no part in those convulsions of the state which now commenced, though it is highly probable that he was a moderate royalist in sentiment. In 1645 he was chosen to represent his native county in parliament,—an honour wholly unsolicited on his

part; but he refused to take his seat in the house, till the members excluded by the army-faction were restored by Monk. In 1651, he was appointed high-sheriff of Devonshire.

It is generally agreed that Morice was the only person in Monk's confidence as to his real intentions between Richard's abdication and Charles's arrival. He also received a letter from Charles, urging him to use all his influence towards effecting the Restoration, and Clarendon represents him as one of the principal agents in bringing about that event. To render his co-operation more effective, Charles appointed him his secretary of state, and Monk made him colonel of a regiment of infantry, and governor of Plymouth. He was one of those gentlemen who welcomed the restored king to Dover, where he received from him the honour of knighthood. Shortly after this he was chosen a privy-councillor. After having honourably filled the office of secretary of state for more than seven years, Sir William retired, in 1668, to his estate at Warrington, in Devonshire, where he died in 1676. His eldest son was created a baronet in 1661.

Sir William may be considered as one of the last of the lay-puritans,—a character that almost ceased with the act of conformity. That act, obliging those who had, in the former times of episcopacy, been moderate in their service, and who, with some dislike to a few ceremonies, yet retained so much affection to the establishment as to dislike separation still more, now to act a more decided part, a stronger line was henceforward drawn between the episcopalians and the nonconformists,—a line which has continued to this day, and which still acts as a barrier between the two parties. In his doctrinal sentiments, Sir William was a moderate Calvinist. His views on church-government are not so easily ascertained. He was not an episcopalian; he was not a presbyterian; still less was he an independent. Perhaps an episcopacy modified according to Usher's plan was that system of church-government which most nearly coincided with his own views. His work on the Lord's Supper evinces his almost universal reading and profound learning.

### **Bulstrode Whitelocke.**

BORN A. D. 1605.—DIED A. D. 1676.

BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE, son of James Whitelocke, a learned English lawyer, was born on the 6th of August, 1605, in Fleet-street, London. He was educated at Merchant-tailors' school, and from thence went to St John's college, Oxford. Laud, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was president of St John's at the time, and being the intimate friend of young Whitelocke's father, treated him with much kindness. He left the university without a degree, and went to the Middle Temple, where he commenced the assiduous study of law, and soon entered upon the practice of that profession.

In 1640, Whitelocke was chosen burgess for Marlow in Buckinghamshire. He acted as chairman of the committee appointed to manage Strafford's impeachment, and bore himself in that office with great firmness and dignity. He had early acquired the reputation of a



good common lawyer; in so much so, that Hampden is said to have frequently consulted him on the subject of ship-money; and to his professional reputation was soon added that of being a good parliamentary speaker, and an adept in the technicalities and forms of the house. His early conduct was marked by moderation, and an apparent desire to soothe and conciliate the contending parties; but as soon as hostilities had actually commenced, he adhered closely to the parliament, and accepted under them the office of deputy-lieutenant of Bucks and Oxford. In January, 1643, he acted as one of the commissioners for treating with the king; soon after, he sat as one of the lay-commissioners in the Westminster assembly of divines. Charles appears to have reposed more confidence in Whitelocke and Hollis than in most others of their party. He even condescended to solicit their advice in framing an answer to the propositions which they had themselves been the bearers of from the parliament. Whitelocke hesitated at first to comply with their request, but before leaving the king he made a hasty memorandum of what he judged might form the substance of an answer to the parliament's proposals, and left it upon the table of the king's withdrawing room. For this transaction, both he and Hollis were impeached in 1645, but after a long and severe scrutiny, the commons acquitted them of all blame in the transaction.

Whitelocke was now one of the leading men of the commonwealth, and he used his influence to restrain and moderate the excessive intolerance of the presbyterian party, especially in respect of their claim to the divine right of their order of church government. In the year 1645, the house of commons ordered all the books and manuscripts of the lord-keeper Littleton, whose estate had been sequestered, to be given to Whitelocke. In his 'Memorials,' Whitelocke alluding to this, says, "he undertook this business, as he had done others of the like kind, to preserve these books and manuscripts from being sold, which the sequestration would have done, but he saved them, to have the present use of them, and resolving, if God gave them a happy accommodation, to restore them to the owner, or to some of his family." On several other occasions, Whitelocke showed his regard to the interests of literature, particularly in preventing the sale of the king's library and collection of medals. "Being informed," he says, "of a design in some to have them sold, and transported beyond seas, which I thought would be a dishonour and damage to our nation, and to all scholars therein; and fearing that in other hands they might be more subject to embezzling, and being willing to preserve them for public use, I did accept of the trouble of being library-keeper at St James's, and therein was encouraged and much persuaded to it by Mr Selden, who swore that if I did not undertake the charge of them, all those rare monuments of antiquity, and these choice books and manuscripts would be lost: and there were not the like of them, except only in the Vatican, in any other library in Christendom."

Cromwell gave Whitelocke more of his confidence than might have been expected, seeing that the fact was known that he had been consulted by Essex's party on the subject of impeaching Cromwell. It does not, however, appear that Whitelocke used any great efforts to return and secure the confidence of so important a personage. When the trial of the king had been decided upon, he was named one of the

committee of thirty-eight, who were appointed to draw up the charge; but he never attended the sittings, and refused afterwards to pronounce his approval of the proceedings of the high court of justice. His memorandum on the king's death is thus expressed:—"Jan. 30, I went not to the house, but stayed all day at home, in my study and at my prayers, that this day's work might not so displease God as to bring prejudice to this poor afflicted nation." Yet there was certainly a degree of trimming and vacillation about Whitelocke's conduct at this crisis, for, in the month of February following, we find him pronouncing his disapprobation of the vote of the house, of the 5th of December, namely, "that his majesty's concessions to the propositions of the parliament were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom;" and he even drew up the act for abolishing the house of lords, with his own hand, although he had formally dissented from that contemplated measure.

On the 8th of February, he was appointed one of the three lords commissioners of the new great seal of the commonwealth of England. He urges the following reasons as his apology for the acceptance of this trust: "because he was already very deeply engaged with this party; and because the business to be undertaken by him was the execution of law and justice, without which men could not live one by another—a thing of absolute necessity to be done." On the 14th of the same month he was chosen one of the thirty members of the council of state, and a few months after he was elected high-steward of Oxford. Cromwell still continued to favour him with much of his confidence, and frequently consulted him on professional points. He at last got him appointed ambassador to Christina of Sweden. In this situation he displayed very respectable diplomatic talents, and concluded a well-based alliance between the two countries in 1654. The journal which he kept while employed in this embassy, was published by Dr Morton in 1772. It is a curious and valuable document, and is printed literally from Whitelocke's manuscript. After his return home, he received the thanks of parliament, and had £2000 ordered him for the expenses of his embassy. He appears, however, to have been dissatisfied with his treatment upon the whole, and talks of himself in the conclusion of his journal as having performed "a most difficult and dangerous work" for a very thankless government.

Richard Cromwell restored the great seal to him, which he had resigned in 1655; but his office ceased on Richard's deposition. During the confusion which followed, it has been suspected that Whitelocke negotiated a good deal with Hyde and the leading men among the royalists; but there is no clear proof of this; and the neglect amounting to contempt with which he was subsequently treated by Charles is some testimony in favour of his integrity. He died on the 28th of January, 1676. The first edition of his 'Memorials of the English affairs,' was published in 1682; the second in 1732. He also wrote Memorials of early English history which were published in 1709.

## Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle.

BORN A. D. 1592.—DIED A. D. 1676.

THIS accomplished nobleman was the eldest son of Sir Charles Cavendish, younger brother to the first earl of Devonshire. He was born in the year 1592, and privately educated under his father's roof. In 1617, he succeeded to his father's fine estate, and in 1620 was raised to the peerage by the titles of Lord Ogle and Viscount Mansfield.

Charles I. advanced him, in 1627, to the earldom of Newcastle-on-Tyne. He now got involved in politics in spite of his unambitious and retiring disposition. He excited the jealousy of Buckingham, and won the friendship of Wentworth; but the king withstood the attempts of the favourite to displace the earl from his confidence, and in 1638 appointed him governor to the prince of Wales. The earl proved a munificent as well as faithful subject. He gave the king a most superb reception at Welbeck house when on his way to his coronation in Scotland; and within a year or two afterwards made the king and queen "a more stupendous entertainment" at Bolsover castle. He also assisted Charles's necessities with a free gift of £10,000, and a body of horse equipped at his own expense, when preparing to awe the Scottish covenanters into submission. Soon after his return from Scotland, whither he had accompanied Charles, he resigned his office of governor to the prince.

In the beginning of 1642 he met the king at York, and took possession with troops raised by himself, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. One of the first subsequent acts of the parliament was to declare Newcastle a traitor to the state, and excepted from any pardon; while the king, on his part, appointed him general of all forces to be levied north of the Trent. In his military command he was at first very successful, and was rewarded by a grant of the title of Marquess of Newcastle; but the battle of Marston-moor annihilated his army, and with difficulty he made his escape to Scarborough where he immediately embarked for Hamburg. After spending some time successively at Hamburg, Amsterdam, and Paris, he finally settled at Antwerp, where, though greatly depressed in his finances, he contrived to beguile the tedium of exile with literary composition, encouraged, doubtless, by the example of his countess, herself an authoress of high reputation in these times. He wrote four lays, and a treatise on the training and management of horses.

After an absence of eighteen years, he once more set foot on his native land in the suite of Charles II.; and on the 16th of March, 1664, he was elevated to the dignities of Earl of Ogle and Duke of Newcastle. He died on the 25th of December, 1676, having passed the closing years of his life mostly in retirement. Clarendon thus sketches his character: "he was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding, in which his delight was. Besides that, he was amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune,

but honour and ambition to serve the king when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him and by him."

### *Sir Matthew Hale.*

BORN A. D. 1609.—DIED A. D. 1676.

MATTHEW HALE was born at Alderley, in Gloucestershire, on the 1st of November, 1609. His father had been educated for the bar, but abandoned his profession from conscientious scruples. Burnet says, "he gave over the practice of the law, because he could not understand the reason of giving colour in pleading, which, as he thought, was to tell a lie." The father dying before Matthew was five years old, his guardian placed him under the tuition of a puritan teacher, and afterwards sent him to Magdalene hall—Oxford, where Obadiah Sedgwick then presided—with the intention of educating him for the ministry. His proficiency, both at school and at college, was for a time extraordinary. According to the custom of the age, he studied Aquinas, Saurez, and Scotus; but the young puritan at last fell into bad company and habits, and for a time abandoned study altogether. Being gifted by nature with a powerful and agile frame, he became fond of all athletic exercises, and acquired great skill in the art of fencing. At last he renounced divinity and resolved to trail a pike in the prince of Orange's army.

From this resolution he was turned aside by an apparently trifling circumstance. Being obliged, in a suit of law, to watch the progress of the case himself, and act as his own solicitor, he was brought into frequent contact with Sergeant Granville, who soon discovered that his young client was possessed of many of those qualities which would fit him for the successful study of the law. He conjured him to give up his military views, and finally succeeded in marching his protégé to Lincoln's inn, where he was admitted towards the close of the year 1629. He now made up for the time which he had lost, by pursuing his studies with astonishing ardour and diligence. One of his first resolutions, on coming to London, was, that he would never again visit the theatre, from which he was conscious he had received the greatest injury. He also exchanged the gay clothing of a young man of fashion for a plain and student-like habit, and with such intense resolution did he enter upon the work now before him, that for some years he devoted no less than sixteen hours each day to study. Yet he still occasionally mixed with gay company, nor did he wholly abandon such society until an incident occurred which deeply affected him. One of his companions, at a convivial party, having indulged so deeply in draughts of wine as to fall speechless and senseless on the floor, Hale was so deeply affected by the sight that he instantly retired into another room, and solemnly vowed never more to be guilty of intemperance, nor drink a health while he lived. His friend recovered, but he religiously observed his vow, though he was sometimes railed at for not drinking the king's health after the Restoration. An entire change appeared now to be produced on his mind: he forsook vain company, and devoted himself

exclusively to the duties of religion, and the study of his profession ; he also took a strict account of his time, and probably composed that scheme for the daily distribution of his time and regulation of his life, which Bishop Burnet has preserved. He was afterwards enabled to declare, that for a space of thirty-six years he had never on one occasion been absent from public worship ; yet he was far from being an ostentatious professor, and neither prayed nor gave alms 'to be seen of men.' He also kept the hours of the hall constantly in term time, and seldom put himself out of commons, as it is called, in the vacation. He was very diligent in his researches ; and, according to the laborious practice of the day, compiled a common-place book of what he read, mixed with his own observations, of which an eminent judge, who afterwards had an opportunity of inspecting it, was heard to say, that "though it was composed by him so early, he did not think any lawyer in England could have done it better."

It was Hale's good fortune, at this early period of life, to secure the friendship of two no less distinguished persons than Selden and Vaughan. The former prompted him to extend his pursuit of learning beyond the strict limits of his profession. He soon became skilled in the Roman law and ancient history. He also made considerable progress in the mathematical sciences, and added to his other acquirements a respectable knowledge of medicine, and a more than ordinary acquaintance with divinity. His indefatigable industry enabled him to achieve what, in the case of ordinary men, would have been an impossible task, and to acquire an extent and variety of learning which would have utterly distracted minds of a weaker texture and less energetic habits. He rose early, was never idle ; scarcely ever inquired after, or talked about, the news of the day ; entered into no epistolary correspondence, except such as business demanded ; and spent very little time at his meals or in bodily recreation.

Mr Hale was called to the bar about the commencement of the civil war between Charles I. and the parliament. The time was unpropitious, and particularly trying for the members of the legal profession. He chose Pomponius Atticus for his model at this juncture ; and like that distinguished Roman, he passed unhurt through those distracted times, by adhering steadily to two rules of conduct ; the one of which was to engage in no faction, nor meddle with any public business,—the other, always to lean to the side of the oppressed. There was prudence at least in this conduct. He seems, however, from the very first, to have had a bias towards the presbyterian party, influenced, doubtless, by the principles of puritanism which had been so early instilled into his mind. This avowed neutrality in politics, and the high personal respect in which he was held by both parties, pointed him out from the first as a desirable advocate to such of the prerogative party as were put upon trial for political offences. He accordingly appeared as counsel for the earl of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, the duke of Hamilton, and the lords Holland, Capel, and Craven. On the trial of the latter nobleman, the attorney-general threatened Hale with the displeasure of the government, but he spiritedly answered, that "he was pleading in defence of those laws which they declared they would maintain and preserve ; that he was doing his duty to his client, and was not to be daunted with threatenings." Wood informs us that Hale

subscribed the solemn league and covenant in 1643, and that he appeared several times, with other laymen, in the Westminster assembly. His views of prelacy must at this time have been very different from what they were at a later period of his life.

On the death of Charles I. Hale, less scrupulous than Vaughan, took the engagement, "to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, without a king or house of lords." Soon after this, he was appointed one of a committee to consider the reformation of the law. The committee met several times, but effected little. On the death of the king, and the resignation of six out of the twelve judges, Hale was offered a seat in the common pleas. At first he scrupled to accept the proffered dignity, but upon being urged to it by all his friends, and having had his scruples satisfied by Drs Shelden and Henchman, he came to the resolution, "that, as it was absolutely necessary to have justice and property kept up at all times, it was no sin to take a commission from usurpers." On his appointment to the bench, he refused to take any part in the proceedings instituted against individuals for political offences; and at last declined even to sit on the crown side at the assizes, being doubtful of the legality of the commission under which he acted.

In 1654, Hale was elected one of the representative knights of the shire, for the county of Gloucester. On taking his seat, he moved that the legislative authority should be affirmed to be in the parliament of the people of England, and a single person qualified with such instructions as that assembly should authorise; but that the military power, for the present, should reside in the protector. He likewise exerted himself greatly in exposing the madness, injustice, and mischief, of a proposition which had been made for destroying all records in the tower, and settling the nation on a new foundation; and such was the zeal and success with which he acted on this occasion, that "he stopped even the mouths of the frantic people themselves." When the protector died, Hale refused to receive a new commission from Richard Cromwell. In the same year, he was returned as one of the members for the university of Oxford; and, in 1660, he appeared as knight of the shire for the county of Gloucester, in the parliament which recalled Charles II. He was not, however, for admitting the king without reasonable restrictions, being no friend to the indefeasible right of prerogative. He moved that a committee be appointed to look into the propositions that had been offered by the king during the war, that from thence such propositions might be digested as would be fitting to send over to his successor. The motion was opposed by Monk, who urged the danger of delay in the then agitated state of the country.<sup>1</sup>

After the Restoration, Hale was of opinion—that nothing could be done more beneficial to all parties, than to pass an act of indemnity; and he applied himself with great diligence to frame and carry through such a measure; but the design was ultimately abandoned in consequence of a vote of the servile commons in opposition to it. It was not without considerable real reluctance that Clarendon had persuaded Hale again to undertake the arduous duties of a judicial station. Among other serious objections, he urged the smallness of his estate, and the greatness of his expenses and debts. "My estate," he says, "is

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's Own Times.

not above £500 per annum; six children unprovided for; and a debt of £1000 lying upon me." Notwithstanding, however, of these and other objections, he was soon afterwards appointed lord-chief-baron. Clarendon, on delivering the commission, told him, "that if the king could have found an honester and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it; but that he had preferred him because he knew no other who deserved it so well." It was usual for all chief barons to receive the honour of knighthood, but Hale studiously shunned the customary honour, and it was only upon meeting the king at the house of the chancellor, by an arrangement of which he was unconscious, that he was unexpectedly knighted.

Sir Matthew Hale filled the office of chief baron for eleven years, managing the court and all proceedings in it with singular prudence and justice. He was celebrated, not merely for rigid impartiality, but for diligence, punctuality, and generosity. Complaints were indeed sometimes made that he did not despatch business with sufficient speed; but his slowness in deciding arose from his anxiety to put suits to a final end, and he succeeded so well in what ought always to be the great object of a judge, that his decisions were seldom reviewed, and still less frequently reversed. In the treatment of criminals, Sir Matthew behaved with great humanity; his addresses to the condemned were so affectingly pathetic, as well as serious and devout, that many pious people used to make a point of attending trials when he sat on the bench. It is at the same time an humbling reflection, that this great and good man was so far subject to the superstitious credulity of the times, as to pass sentence of death on two old crazy wretches for the alleged crime of witchcraft.<sup>2</sup>

On the 18th of May, 1671, Sir Matthew Hale was promoted to the office of chief-justice of the court of king's bench. He did not preside long, however, in this court. Finding his strength rapidly failing him, he made an earnest application for his writ of ease, but such was the general satisfaction which his conduct as chief-justice had given, that the king delayed for some time the granting of his request. At length, he executed a deed of surrender of office with his own hand, which he delivered into chancery on the 21st of February, 1675, having on the previous day, surrendered to the king in person, who, contrary to his desire, continued his salary for life. After his retirement, he suffered much from asthma and dropsy, under which complaints he finally sunk. On Christmas day, 1676, he breathed his last, without a struggle or a pang. He was interred in the churchyard of Alderly, among his ancestors.

Sir Matthew was twice married. By his first wife, Ann, daughter of Sir Henry Moore of Faly, in Berkshire, he had ten children, six of whom arrived at maturity, but two only survived him. By his second wife—who was much beneath his own rank, having been, according to the Hon. Roger North, a servant in his household—he had no child.

Sir Matthew Hale was justly ranked among the brightest ornaments of his time. As a judge, his knowledge of law was profound, and his integrity stainless. Roger North says, "his voice was oracular and his person little less than adored."<sup>3</sup> But the same authority insinuates

<sup>2</sup> State Trials, vol. vi.

<sup>3</sup> Life of Lord Guilford.

that he was not wholly above and beyond undue influences. "If the dissenting, or anti-court, party was at the back of a cause, he was very seldom impartial, and the loyalists had always a great disadvantage before him." "I have heard Lord Guilford," North adds, "say, 'Hale's foible was leaning towards the popular.'" These accusations will probably enhance the reader's estimation of this excellent judge. It was no small matter in these times to avoid leanings and inclinations the other way. Hale was always friendly and tolerant towards dissenters, and had much intercourse with their leading men, particularly with Richard Baxter. But in his own principles, he was a decided churchman, and the intimate friend of Usher, Wilkins, Ward, Barlow, Barrow, Tillotson, and Stillingfleet. "As a lawyer, and especially as a constitutional lawyer," Mr Henry Roscoe says, "Hale has perhaps never been equalled. His young rival, the lord-keeper, North, 'revered him for his great learning in the history, law, and records of the English constitution.' Comparing him with Sir Edward Coke, he transcended even that great luminary of the law in the accuracy and extent of his antiquarian knowledge, in his intimate acquaintance with the records, and in the orderly arrangement of the vast stores of learning which he had acquired. The respect paid to his legal opinions even in his own day was such, that when sitting as the puisne baron of the exchequer, and delivering his opinion last, at variance with that of his brothers, the latter, struck with the force of reasoning displayed in Hale's arguments, have been known to retract the opinion they had expressed. His published professional works are worthy of the high reputation which he enjoyed while living, and will for ever remain as monuments of his diligence and profound learning. To his great work on the Pleas of the Crown, reference is made, as to the records of the law themselves. His admirable 'Analysis of the civil part of our law' supplied Sir William Blackstone with the idea of his Commentaries, which have been termed 'A superstructure raised on the foundation of Lord Hale's previous digest and distribution of the subject.' Many of the invaluable treatises and collections compiled by the industry and learning of Sir Matthew Hale still remain unpublished. At the close of the last century, the excellent treatise, 'De jure maris, de portubus maris, and concerning the custom of goods,' a work full of profound learning, and most important in a constitutional point of view, was published by Mr Hargrave in the first volume of his Law Tracts. That gentleman was also fortunate enough to obtain another short tract, entitled, 'Considerations touching the amendment of law,' which he has in the same manner given to the public. At the present moment, when the amendment of the law has not only engaged the attention of the legislature, but has become a subject of no inconsiderable interest with the people at large, it will not be unprofitable to state what were the opinions of Sir Matthew Hale as to the possibility of effectuating so important an object. After some observations on the evils arising from 'over-hastiness and forwardness to alterations in the laws,' he proceeds to remark upon 'the over-tenacious holding of laws, notwithstanding apparent necessity for, and safety in the change.' The principles which Hale here lays down, though most obvious and simple, are yet most admirable, and well deserve the attention of those legislators who can see nothing in our institutions requiring reform. 'We must remember that laws



were not made for their own sakes, but for the sake of those who are to be guided by them; and though it is true that they are and ought to be sacred, yet if they be or are become unuseful for their end, they must either be amended, if it may be, or new laws be substituted, and the old repealed, so it be done regularly, deliberately, and so far forth only as the exigence or convenience justly demands it: and in this respect the saying is true, *Salus populi suprema lex esto.* \* \* \* 'He that thinks a state can be exactly steered by the same laws in every kind, as it was two or three hundred years ago, may as well imagine that the clothes that fitted him when a child should serve him when he was grown a man. The matter changeth, the custom, the contracts, the commerce, the dispositions, educations, and tempers of men and societies, change in a long tract of time, and so must their laws in some measure be changed, or they will not be useful for their state and condition; and besides all this, time is the wisest thing under heaven. These very laws, which at first seemed the wisest constitution under heaven, have some flaws and defects discovered in them by time. As manufactures, mercantile arts, architecture, and building, and philosophy itself, secure new advantages and discoveries by time and experience, so much more do laws which concern the manners and customs of men.'

"The multiplication and growth of the laws are urged by Hale as inducing a necessity for their revision and reduction:—'By length of time and continuance, laws are so multiplied and grown to that excessive variety, that there is a necessity of a reduction of them, or otherwise it is not manageable. \* \* \* And the reason is, because this age, for the purpose, received from the last a body of laws, and they add more, and transmit the whole to the next age; and they add to what they had received, and transmit the whole stock to the next age. Thus, as the rolling of a snow-ball, it increaseth in bulk in every age till it becomes utterly unmanageable. And hence it is that, even in the laws of England, we have so many varieties of forms of conveyances, feoffments, fines, release, confirmation, grant, attornment, common recovery deeds enrolled, &c. because the use coming in at several times, every age did retain somewhat of what was past, and added somewhat of its own, and so carried over the whole product to the quotient. And this produceth mistakes: a man, perchance, useth one sort of conveyance where he should have used another. It breeds uncertainty and contradiction of opinion, and that begets suits and expense. It must necessarily cause ignorance in the professors and profession itself, because the volumes of the law are not easily to be mastered.' The mode in which Sir Matthew Hale proposed to accomplish the desired reform in our juridical system is pretty fully explained by him:—that the king, on the address of both houses of parliament, should direct the judges and other fit persons to prepare proper bills to effectuate the object:—that these bills should be brought into the house of commons:—that after having been twice read and committed, the judges should be called before the committee to explain the reasons and grounds of the proposed alterations; and that those learned persons should again attend the house of lords for the same purpose. 'Bills thus prepared and hammered,' adds Sir Matthew Hale, 'would have fewer flaws, and necessity of supplemental or explanatory laws,

than hath of late times happened.' It is to be much regretted that the tract from which these extracts have been made is left imperfect by the author, and the particular alterations which he probably intended to recommend are consequently unknown. A few pages only are devoted to these subjects, from which, however, some valuable suggestions are to be gathered. The observations on the propriety of rendering the county court a cheap and efficient tribunal are especially worthy of notice. In the year 1796, Mr Hargrave also published the excellent treatise of Hale 'On the Jurisdiction of the Lords' House of Parliament,' and in the preface expressed a hope that he should be enabled to present to the public a complete edition of Lord Hale's works; a design which, unfortunately, has never been completed."<sup>4</sup>

Beyond the strict limits of his own profession, Sir Matthew Hale's chief study was theology. The Rev. T. Thirwall, who has edited a selection from his moral and religious treatises, says of them, they "may be considered a species of extemporary meditations, the production of a head and heart fraught with a rich treasure of human and divine knowledge." His principal religious treatise is entitled 'The Primitive Origination of Mankind considered and examined according to the Light of Nature.' His 'Contemplations, moral and Divine,' have long been favourably known to the religious world. They are evidently unlaboured productions, closet meditations, never designed to meet the public eye; but they are vigorous sketches, significant of a mind of high and original powers.

### Digby, Earl of Bristol.

BORN A. D. 1612.—DIED A. D. 1677.

GEORGE DIGBY, eldest son of John, first Baron Digby, was born in October, 1612, at Madrid, where his father was then English ambassador. While yet a child of only twelve years, he became an object of public attention, from the circumstance of his having presented an appeal for his father at the bar of the house of commons, with a simplicity, and grace of action and expression, which won the hearts of all the spectators. We have already had occasion to allude to the discord betwixt Buckingham and Bristol on the subject of the projected marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta. It was the persecution to which Bristol was subjected on his return home from his Spanish embassy, that gave occasion to his appeal for redress; and that he had not over-estimated the talents of his child, when he resolved to make him the bearer of his appeal, was proved by the result.

In 1626, George Digby was entered of Magdalene college, Oxford, where he run a very splendid career, distancing all competitors, and that apparently without any great study or effort on his part. On leaving college, he joined his father, then living in a sort of honourable exile at his seat in Dorsetshire. In this retirement, young Digby appears to have given himself entirely up to study and reading; he ranged through almost every branch of literature, and made those va-

<sup>4</sup> Roscoe's 'Lives of Eminent British Lawyers,' in Lardner's Cyclopedia.

ried accessions of mental wealth with which he afterwards astonished all who came into contact with him. But his ambition had not yet been roused, either by a desire of personal distinction, or a sense of his father's wrongs. At last, an incident occurred which determined him to throw the whole weight of his power and influence into the scale against the court. During one of his short occasional visits to London, a rencontre occurred between himself and a gentleman of the court. He wounded and disarmed his antagonist, but the scene of their contest was unluckily within the precincts of the palace, and for this offence he was seized and treated with great personal indignity. An opportunity of revenge soon occurred, for he was elected to serve for the county of Dorset in the parliament which met on the 13th of April, 1640. During the brief space of its sitting, young Digby not only contrived to make it appear what side he meant to join, but what might be the value of the accession made in his person to the party into whose arms he had thrown himself.

Having been again returned for Dorsetshire to the long parliament, he was immediately fixed upon as the mover of a select committee to frame a remonstrance to the king on public grievances, which he did in a very splendid speech, only six days after. We cannot forbear quoting one passage from his address on this occasion :—"It hath been a metaphor frequently in parliament," said he, "and, if my memory fail me not, was made use of in the lord-keeper's speech at the opening of the last, that what money kings raised from their subjects, it was but as vapours drawn up from the earth by the sun, to be distilled upon it again in fructifying showers. The comparison, Mr Speaker, hath held of late years in this kingdom too unluckily. What hath been raised from the subject by those violent attractions, hath been formed, it is true, into clouds, but how? To darken the sun's own lustre; and hath fallen again upon the land only in hailstones and mildews, to batter and prostrate still more and more our liberties, and to blast and wither our affections; had not the latter of these been kept alive by our king's own personal virtues, which will ever preserve him, in spite of all ill-councillors, a sacred object both of our admiration and love." From this period, Digby was marked out as one of the leaders of the party now engaged in checking the influence of the court. His eloquence rendered him a most valuable and efficient auxiliary at a time when so much needed to be done in the way of invective and impeachment. The road to the very highest pinnacle of a patriot's wishes was now open to him; and the universal expectation of his friends and associates was, that he would seize the golden opportunity and fulfil their most ardent wishes. But, in the hour of trial, he was found wanting. At the very moment that the impeachment of Strafford was going forward, and while professing to take an active part in the measure adopted for bringing that notorious political profligate to justice, Digby was secretly negotiating with the crown. His overtures were, of course, eagerly grasped at, and Digby prepared to throw off the mask by continuing to act with Strafford's prosecutors, but with increasing coolness. His demeanour at length roused the suspicion of the house, and he was called upon for explanation of various points in his recent conduct; but the king interfered to extricate him from his embarrassment by calling him, on the 9th of June, 1641, to the house of peers. Digby

now printed the speech which he had delivered against the third reading of Strafford's attainder bill; the commons, in their indignation, voted that it should be burnt by the hands of the hangman.

The ill-advised impeachments of the 5th of January, 1642, were among the first fruits of Digby's confidence with the royal ear. On the retreat of the five members, with Lord Kimbolton, into the city, Digby offered to seize them with an armed force; but the king, less infatuated than his councillor, rejected the proposal. Digby was now the object of universal odium and execration; he saw and felt his disgrace and danger, and fled to Holland. Weary at length of inactivity, he ventured to return to England, and contrived to reach York undiscovered, where he had an interview with the king. But on his return to Holland with some confidential communication to the queen, the vessel in which he had embarked was taken at sea and brought into Hull. Here he had the singular address so to move the feelings and enlist the sympathy of Sir John Hotham, then governor of Hull, on his behalf, that he concealed his knowledge of the rank and quality of his prisoner, and connived at his escape. Soon after this, we find him behaving with great gallantry at the battle of Edgehill, and subsequently at the siege of Lichfield; but on a disagreement with Prince Rupert, he threw up his regiment and returned to court. On the death of Falkland, Digby became principal secretary of state to the king; he was about the same time elected high-steward of the university of Oxford. In his new capacity of secretary, Digby exhibited little talent. His project for a treaty between the king and the city of London, wild in itself, was frustrated by the mismanagement of the correspondence relating to it; he was soon after gulled by Brown, who commanded at Abingdon, into negotiations which, while they had for their professed object the delivery of that important place to the king, were entered into by Brown with no other view than to gain time for putting himself into a better state of defence. Again, in October, 1645, he hastily entered into an intercourse with Lesley, and some other commanders of the Scottish forces then in England, without first having made sure of his men, and was greatly surprised when he discovered that the crafty Lesley had imparted their whole correspondence to the parliamentary party. His acceptance of the lieutenant-generalship of the forces north of the Trent, on the dismissal of Prince Rupert, was an equally unadvised and rash step. He had no military talents, but he never discovered the fact until he found himself cut off by Lesley's army from returning into England, after having vainly attempted to form a junction with the marquess of Montrose. In this dilemma, he adopted the sudden resolution of leaving his men and embarking for the Isle of Man, from whence he went to Ireland.

His favourite scheme now was to get the prince of Wales persuaded to raise his standard in Ireland; but failing in this, he retired to France, where the Cardinal Mazarine showed him some little attention. We soon after hear of him as having entered the French army as a volunteer, and commanding a troop of horse, chiefly composed of English gentlemen, in what was called the war of the Frondeurs. In this service he greatly distinguished himself by his personal bravery, and was rewarded by Louis with a very lucrative monopoly. His succession to the earldom of Bristol by the death of his father, completed his title

to estimation in the eyes of his new friends. New singularities, however, soon took possession of him. With a professed love of money amounting to avarice, and whilst he was universally supposed to be amassing enormous wealth, he was indulging in secret in the most amorous dissipation and unbounded extravagance. From this dream of delusion he was at last awoken by the necessity of his circumstances,—he found himself without a penny, and took up a new whim to ascend the highest ladder of ambition. His first idea was to supplant Mazarine as premier of France. With his usual precipitancy and blindness to the most obvious consequences, he instituted all sorts of intrigues to this end, and quickly found himself dismissed from all his employments, and shunned and abandoned by the whole court. He now wandered in a state of positive destitution into the Spanish camp in the Netherlands; but here his fame had preceded him, and none seemed willing to enter into friendship with such an unstable and intriguing character. Yet such was the extraordinary fascination of his manners, and such the address with which he wielded the varied talents which he unquestionably possessed, that in spite of their previous disinclination to intimacy with him, the principal officers in the Spanish army soon found him their trusty companion; and even the celebrated Don John of Austria took him to his bosom as his confidential friend.

His next freak was to embrace Catholicism. How far the man was conscientious in this change of religious profession, it does not become us to judge, on the slender evidence we possess on the subject. It is strange, however, that he never seems to have dreamt of his conversion operating to the prejudice of his political advancement in his own country. On presenting himself in England, he was indeed received with external marks of respect by Charles, but no office either in the state or the court was offered to him; and, in his blindness to what must have been obvious to every other person but himself, he imputed the neglect with which he was treated to the malignant influence of Clarendon. His bitterness soon manifested itself in the charge of high treason which he preferred against the chancellor in the house of peers, on the 10th of July, 1663. The measure, as might have been anticipated by any one else but himself, ended in his own disgrace. He remained for two years concealed, or rather affecting to conceal himself; at last the duchess of Cleveland obtained a private audience for him with Charles. From this period, his public life may be regarded as having closed. He died on the 20th of March, 1677, at Chelsea, where he was buried.

### Andrew Marvell.

BORN A. D. 1620.—DIED A. D. 1678.

THIS eminent English statesman and poet, who has been honoured with the name of 'the British Aristides,' was the son of a respectable clergyman of the church of England. He was born at Kingston-upon-Hull, on the 15th of November, 1620, and probably received the first rudiments of education under his father, whom Echard calls 'the facetious Calvinistic minister of Hull.' Young Marvell was early distinguish-

ed for remarkable proficiency and quickness of mind. Indeed, at fifteen years of age, his father sent him to Cambridge, where he was admitted, in 1635, as a student at Trinity college: Mr Cooke, the editor of the edition of his works in 1726, erroneously states this as on the 14th of December, 1633; but the admission-book of Trinity college has the following entry,—p. 266, "13th April, 1638. Andrew Marvell juratus et admisus," which is the record of his election to a scholarship on the foundation. We have no evidence of his attaining academical honours, or towards what profession he directed his studies.

The Jesuits, who were then making converts with industrious proselytism among the young men of distinguished abilities, inveigled Marvell from college to London, where his father followed and rescued him from their fangs; and it appears, that, like every youthful mind of ardent and undisciplined feeling, he went through the usual course of rapidly succeeding extremes and inconsistent opinions. So powerful and vigorous an intellect could not but subside into rational and wise views of the principles of human conduct, and the civil government of man; and in proportion to the difficulty of discovering truth, is the usual estimation of its value.

From the time of his admission on the foundation at Trinity college, in 1638, to the year 1640, in which he lost his father,<sup>1</sup> he appears to have pursued his studies with indefatigable application; that event seems to have given some new character to his views and prospects which, at this distance of time, and with the scanty information of his early life, cannot now be discovered. It is certain, however, that he gave up his residence at college: and, with other students, absented himself so long from his exercises, that the masters and seniors came to a resolution on the 24th of September, 1641, to refuse them the benefits of the college, and gave them three months to make the *amende honorable*. Marvell does not appear to have manifested any penitence, but was publicly expelled for non-residence. This story, however, probably means nothing more than that Marvell, as a scholar, did not take his degree at the regular time, which, by the rules of Trinity college, now vacates of scholarship, and, which probably did at the time and in the instance in question. Captain Thompson, his last biographer, supposes that this intermission of his studies and residence was caused by new snares of the Jesuits; but this is improbable,—a burnt child dreads the fire. It is much more probable, that the political turmoils which preceded the breaking out of the civil wars, engaged his attention; and that a small independency, on the death of his father, relieved him from the necessity of earning his bread in the dry and uninteresting study of technical law. But however this may be, he appears to have extended the plan of his education, in travelling abroad some considerable time, "through most of the polite parts of Europe."

His poem of Flecnoe, a humorous satire on an Irish priest at Rome, Richard Flecnoe, an incorrigible poetaster, is the first recorded instance of his satirical writing; though possessing considerable humour, it is composed in a slovenly metre. It has, however, the

<sup>1</sup> Marvell thus speaks of his father in 'The Rehearsal Transposed':—"He died before the war broke out, having lived with some reputation both for piety and learning; and was, moreover, a conformist to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, though I confess none of the most over-running or eager in them."

merit of originating one of the best satirical poems in the language, Dryden's *M'Flecnœ* against the 'lambent dulness' of Thomas Shadwell.

It has been supposed that Marvell, at this time, made his first acquaintance with Milton, who was then in Italy; and who, though twelve years older than Marvell, had left Christ's college only four years before the date of the latter's admission. "At Rome," says Hartley Coleridge, "Marvell first saw Milton, then a young and enamoured roamer in classic lands, who was soon to make 'all Europe ring from side to side,' already a poet, not of promise merely, but of high achievement, in the flower of manly beauty, in the vernal warmth of high and generous daring; not even in the proudest days of her Republic, had Rome to boast two nobler youths than Milton and Marvell. No doubt they sympathised in passionate indignation to see priestcraft throned on the seven hills. D'Israeli has written a book upon the 'Quarrels of Authors,' why does not he, or somebody else, write one about the 'Friendships of Authors?' Why is it, that the little good that has been on earth has never found an historian?"

In Paris, Marvell wrote a severe poem on one Lancelot Joseph de Maniban, a whimsical abbot, who pretended to prognosticate the fortunes of people by the character of their hand-writing. After his return home, we hear no more of Marvell for the space of twelve years. Some of his biographers, determined to fill up the chasm, have sent him as secretary to a Turkey embassy; but unluckily it does not appear that Cromwell had any minister at the Ottoman court. This long blank in the biography of such a man, at such an era, is unaccountable; though it cannot be doubted, from subsequent circumstances, that he must have been the warm and bold friend of the popular party. In 1653, by the transcript of a curious letter from him to Oliver Cromwell, the original of which is unknown, the latter, it appears, had appointed him tutor to his nephew. This letter is extremely interesting, and, in some degree, unfolds Marvell's opinion on education; he writes that his pupil was of a "gentle and waxen disposition;" that "he hath in him two things which make youth most easy to be managed,—modesty, which is the bridle to vice—and emulation, which is the spur to virtue." There is more wisdom in the simplicity and tenderness of these sentiments than first meets the eye.

In the second part of the *Rehearsal Transposed*, he says, in reply to some reproaches of Dr Parker, "I never had any not the remotest relation to public matters, nor correspondence with the persons then predominant, till the year 1657, when, indeed, I entered into an employment, for which I was not altogether improper, and which I consider to be the most innocent and inoffensive towards his majesty's affairs, of any in that usurped and irregular government, to which all men were then exposed." This office was that of assistant Latin secretary to the commonwealth, with Milton; which sufficiently proves he was an accomplished scholar, and of tried integrity. It is true, that the sentence above quoted betrays a great dissatisfaction at the issue of the struggle for liberty in Cromwell's usurpation; and it is more than probable, that Marvell, with Fairfax, and many other of the great characters of the times, in the choice of evils, longed for the Restoration.

From the death of Cromwell till the parliament of the 25th of April,

1660, we have no account of Marvell, although he was elected in 1658 member of the town of Hull. His parliamentary career was remarkable for patriotism and genius ; he was the bold advocate of the people, with assassination staring him in the face, "when truth and chastity were crimes in the lewd circle of Charles' siren court," and when a general prostitution of public integrity made patriotism singular and vulgar. He corresponded every post with his constituents, which is said to be the last instance of that valuable relation between representatives and their suffragans. This correspondence still exists in the corporation's records of Hull ; and Captain Thompson published a considerable portion in his edition of Marvell's works. The letters are highly curious for their historical and parliamentary information. In one of them we find him thanking the corporation conjunctively with his colleague, for a barrel of ale : "We must give you thanks for the kind present you were pleased to send us, which will occasion us to remember you often ; but the quantity is so great that it might make many sober men forgetful." "The most remarkable feature in his parliamentary despatches," says Hartley Coleridge, "is, that he scarcely ever speaks of himself. He says little or nothing of his own aid or opposition to any particular measure, though it is not difficult to perceive the drift of his opinions. To his private affairs he scarcely alludes, unless it be to thank the corporation for some present or inquiry. He, indeed, manifestly writes under some degree of restraint, knowing that the sanctity of a seal is not always respected by a jealous government in perilous times. The first letters, from November 20th to December 29th, refer chiefly to the settlement of the revenue ; the excise, half of which was given to the king for life, and the other half granted *in perpetuum* to the Crown ; the abolition of the Court of Wards ; the £70,000 per month for the disbanding of the army ; the tonnage and poundage ; the £100,000 to be raised upon lands in the several counties, (the apportioning of which gave rise, as might be expected, to much and angry discussion,) which £100,000 was afterwards levied upon the excise of ale and beer ; and the £1,200,000 to be settled upon his majesty. The Act of Indemnity, and the trial of the regicides, transpired before the commencement of the correspondence, and Marvell makes no allusion to either. Perhaps he could not have done so without committing both himself and his correspondents. Of ecclesiastical matters he says but little, though he speaks with approbation 'of that very good bill for erecting and augmenting vicarages out of all impropriations belonging to archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, or any other ecclesiastical person or corporation, to £80 per annum, where the impropriation amounts to £120, and where less, to one moiety of the profits of such impropriations.' He casually mentions, once or twice, the king's declaration in religious matters, which it was proposed to pass into a law ; but the bill to that effect was lost by 183 against 157. This declaration was intended to satisfy the Presbyterians ; and would, in fact, had it been carried into effect, have grafted the Presbyterian system on Episcopacy, and reduced the hierarchal power to little more than an honourable presidency.

"On the rejection of this measure, Marvell observes, 'so there's an end of that bill ; and for those *excellent things* therein, we must henceforth rely only on his majesty's goodness, who, I must needs say, hath



been more ready to give, than we to receive.' In all his earlier letters he speaks respectfully and favourably of Charles and the royal family, and seems to have entertained hopes of a just and equal government, a true and comprehensive amnesty of all past offences between prince and subject, between all sects and parties, between each man and his neighbour.

"In speaking of the measures then on foot for establishing the militia, he advises rather to 'trust to his majesty's goodness,' than to 'confirm a perpetual and exorbitant power by law.' This sentiment not only shows that the patriot was not then ill-affected towards the restored line, but proves him to have been a truly wise and liberal statesman; unlike too many champions of liberty, who, in their dread of prerogative, have unwarily strengthened the tyranny of law, a thing without bowels or conscience, and overlooks the chronic diseases of custom, which slowly but surely reduce the body politic to a condition of impotence and dotage."

He is reported to have spoken but seldom in the house, but to have possessed great personal influence over the members of the commons, and also with the peers. His exertions in favour of religious liberty, and against the excise, were particularly noted. In 1663 he retired from his parliamentary duties, and accompanied Lord Carlisle as secretary to Russia; but he appears to have accepted this appointment rather from private friendship than on public grounds. He continued there and in Sweden and Denmark, nearly two years. On the 15th of October, 1665, we find him attending the parliament at Oxford. From this period to October 1674, Marvell's correspondence gives a regular account of the proceedings of the two houses; and the prorogation of parliament, in November, 1675, terminates his parliamentary labours.

We have no room here to particularize, or quote the various prose works in which he boldly advocated the public cause. He was proof against every assault on his invincible public integrity. Neither the personal compliments of the king himself who delighted in the wit of his society,—nor the golden offers of Charles's treasurer, Danby, who, with difficulty found him in his "elevated retreat, in the second floor of a court in the Strand," the very day he borrowed a guinea,—could daunt his courage or stay his opposition to the government, much less tempt him to prostitute his pen in its behalf. His personal satire against the king himself, his tracts against popery and the ministry, his desperate literary battles with Parker and others, repeatedly endangered his life. But it was all to no purpose on the part of his enemies; he was a rock amidst the foaming ocean; his Roman virtue was incorruptible. He at last died suddenly on the 29th of July, 1678, while attending a public meeting in the town-hall of Hull—it is supposed by poison, as his health had been remarkably good previous to his seizure. Thus, probably, was the threat actually fulfilled,—“If thou darest to print or publish any lie or libel against Dr Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat!”

“But whether fate or art untwined thy thread  
Remains in doubt; Fame's lasting register  
Shall leave his name enrolled as great as those  
Who at Philippi for their country fell.”

As a specimen of Marvell's prose style, the following ironical observations on the invention of printing must suffice :—"The press (that villainous engine), invented much about the same time with the Reformation, hath done more mischief to the discipline of our church than the doctrine can make amends for. It was a happy time, when all learning was in manuscript, and some little officer, like our author, did keep the keys of the library. When the clergy needed no more knowledge than to read the liturgy, and the laity no more clerkship than to save them from hanging. But now, since printing came into the world, such is the mischief, that a man cannot write a book, but presently he is answered. Could the press but at once be conjured to obey only an *imprimatur*, our author might not disdain, perhaps, to be one of its most zealous patrons. There have been ways found out to banish ministers, to find not only the people, but even the grounds and fields where they assembled, in conventicles ; but no art yet could prevent these seditious meetings of letters. Two or three brawney fellows in a corner, with meer ink and elbow grease, do more harm than a hundred systematical divines, with their sweaty preaching. And, what is a strange thing, the very sponges, which one would think should rather deface and blot out the whole book, and were anciently used for that purpose, are become now the instruments to make them legible. Their ugly printing letters look but like so many rotten tooth drawers ; and yet these rascally operators of the press have got a trick to fasten them again in a few minutes, that they grow as firm a set, and as biting and talkative, as ever. O, printing ! how hast thou disturbed the peace of mankind !—that lead, when moulded into bullets, is not so mortal as when formed into letters ! There was a mistake, sure, in the story of Cadmus ; and the serpents' teeth which he sowed were nothing else but the letters which he invented. The first essay that was made towards this art, was in single characters upon iron, wherewith, of old, they stigmatized slaves and remarkable offenders ; and it was of good use, sometimes to brand a schismatic ; but a bulky Dutchman diverted it quite from its first institution, and contriving those innumerable *syn-tagmes* of alphabets, hath pestered the world ever since, with the gross bodies of their German divinity. One would have thought in reason, that a Dutchman might have contented himself only with the wine-press."

The following fine lines are from his Horatian ode to Oliver Cromwell :—

" Though justice against fate complain,  
And plead the ancient rights in vain :  
But those do hold or break,  
As men are strong or weak.  
Nature, that hateth emptiness,  
Allows of penetration less ;  
And therefore must make room  
Where greater spirits come.  
What field of all the civil war,  
Where his were not the deepest scar ?  
And Hampton shows what part  
He had of wiser art :  
When twining subtle fears with hope,  
He wove a net of such a scope,

That Charles himself might chace  
 To Carisbrook's narrow case ;  
 That thence the royal actor borne,  
 The tragic scaffold might adorne,  
*While round the armed bands,  
 Did clap their bloody hands :*  
*He nothing common did, or mean,  
 Upon that memorable scene ;  
 But with his keener eye,  
 The axe's edge did trye.*  
*Nor call'd the Gods with vulgar spight,  
 To vindicate his helpless right :*  
*But bow'd his comely head  
 Downe, as upon a bed.*  
 This was that memorable houre,  
 Which first assured the forced power ;  
 So when they did designe  
 The capitol's first line,  
 A bleeding head where they begun  
 Did fright the architects to run.

### Sir Henry Blount.

BORN A. D. 1602.—DIED A. D. 1682.

SIR HENRY BLOUNT figured in a critical period of his country's history, both as a politician and a man of letters. It was his good fortune also to enjoy the confidence of the ruling parties successively. He was the third son of Sir Thomas Pope Blount of Tittenhanger, in the county of Hertford, a cadet of the very ancient house of the Blounts of Sodington in Worcestershire. He was born in December 1602. He received the rudiments of education at the school of St Alban's, whence he removed to Trinity college, Oxford, in 1616. On leaving Oxford, he went to Gray's-inn, where for some time he applied himself to the study of the law. In 1634 he went abroad, for the purpose of enlarging his acquaintance with mankind, and visiting the most celebrated cities of France, Spain, and Italy. His travels soon begot in him an ardent desire to see more of the world, and, having made acquaintance with a Turk at Venice, he resolved to visit the Turkish dominions in company with him. With this view he embarked, on the 7th of May 1634, on board a Venetian galley, in which he sailed to Spalatro, and thence continued his journey by land to Constantinople. From Constantinople he went to Egypt and visited Grand Cairo. Returning to England in 1636, he published an account of his travels, and became known to society by the appellation of 'the great traveller.' His book is entitled, "A Voyage into the Levant, being a brief relation of a journey lately performed from England, by the way of Venice, into Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Bosnia, Hungary, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Rhodes, and Egypt, unto Grand Cairo; with particular observations concerning the modern condition of the Turks, and other people under that empire." It was first published in 4to in 1636. In 1638, a third edition appeared in the same size. Wood says it was so well esteemed abroad that it had been translated into French and Dutch. But the author of the introductory discourse to Churchill's 'Collection of voyages,' says of Blount's works: "It is very concise,

and without any curious observations, or any notable descriptions. The account," the same writer adds, "of the religion and customs of these people, is only a brief collection of some other travellers; the language mean, and not all of it to be relied on." We suspect the latter is the juster criticism of the two. Blount travelled too hastily to furnish a very accurate account of the different countries through which he passed. He left himself no time to correct first impressions, and he gave the fruits of his observations with a precipitancy little characteristic of an accurate and pains-taking thinker. However, his work served to introduce him to the notice of Charles I. who appointed him one of his gentlemen pensioners, and, in 1638, conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

On the breaking out of the civil war, he followed the example of the elder branches of his family, who were all eminent royalists, and attended the king to York and Oxford. After the battle of Edgehill, he returned to London, and succeeded in making his peace with the dominant party, whose confidence he even gained, as we soon after find him appointed member of a committee for ascertaining and remedying the existing abuses in the administration of the law. He was also appointed commissioner from Cromwell for the trial of Don Pantalion Saa, the brother of the Portuguese ambassador, charged with murder. His colleagues on this occasion were Dr Richard Yorick, Dr William Clarke, and Dr William Turner, all eminent civilians. In 1655 his name was inserted in the list of commissioners appointed to consider the trade and navigation of the commonwealth, and how its commerce might be best encouraged and promoted. His services were of considerable value on this occasion.

On the Restoration, he was appointed high-sheriff of the county of Hertford, which office he filled until his death in 1682. He appears to have been a man of rather an acute though ill-ordered intellect, fond of novelties and paradox. Wood supposes that the '*Anima Mundi*,' published by his son Charles Blount in 1679, was in a great measure written by the father, who was known to have occasionally indulged in metaphysical speculations somewhat akin to those of Spinoza.

## Lord William Russell.

BORN A. D. 1639.—DIED A. D. 1683.

THIS distinguished leader in England's great struggle for civil and religious freedom, was the third son of William, the fifth earl of Bedford, and was born on the 29th of September, 1639. On the death of his elder brother, Francis, he became Lord Russell. He received his education at Cambridge, after which he went abroad, and resided some time at Augsburg. He spent the winter of 1658 at Paris, and returned to England in the following year. Upon the Restoration, he was elected member for Tavistock, and appears to have entered pretty freely into the gaieties of Charles's dissolute court. It was not till after his marriage, which took place in 1669, that he "applied himself with earnestness, both in meditation and action, to fulfil the duties of a Christian." His wife was the daughter of Wriothesley, earl of Southamp-

ton, and widow of Lord Vaughan. She was an amiable and highly accomplished woman, and probably exercised a very material influence on the character of her second husband.

Lord William represented the county of Bedford in four successive parliaments; but, during the first twelve years that he sat in the house, he never joined in the debates. It was not till the year 1672, when the great party was formed for the purpose of preserving the liberties of the nation against a secret French alliance and a Popish successor, that Lord Russell stepped forward, prepared to sustain a glorious part in the struggle which followed. His 'factious connection'—as it has been called—on this occasion with Lord Cavendish, Sir W. Coventry, Col. Birch, Mr Porole, Mr Littleton, and some others, has been very ably vindicated by Lord John Russell, in his 'Life of his kinsmen.'<sup>1</sup> "There are persons," says the noble biographer, "who think the name of party implies blame; who, whilst they consider it natural and laudable that men should combine, for any other object of business or pleasure, and whilst they are lavish in bestowing their confidence on government, which must in its nature be a party, find something immoral and pernicious in every union of those who join together to save their country from unnecessary burdens or illegal oppression. To such persons Lord Russell's conduct must appear indefensible. But to all those who allow that party may sometimes be useful, and opposition often even necessary, I may safely appeal for the justification of his conduct. To overthrow a scheme, so formed as that of Charles and James, it was not sufficient to give honest but unconnected votes in the house of commons. It was necessary to oppose public discussion to secret intrigue, and persevering union to interested combination; it was necessary to overlook the indiscreet violence of partisans, to obtain the fruits of the zeal from which it sprung; it was necessary to sink every little difference in the great cause of the Protestant religion, and our ancient freedom; in fine, it was the duty of the lovers of their country to counteract system by system, and numbers by numbers. It may likewise be remarked, that the manner in which this party opposed the crown, was characteristic of the nation to which they belonged. In any of the continental monarchies, a design on the part of the king, to alter the religion and the laws of the kingdom, would have been met either with passive submission, insurrection, or assassination. For in those countries, men who did not dare to speak the truth to their sovereign, were not afraid to take up arms against him. But in England, the natural and constitutional method of resisting public measures, hurtful to the liberty or welfare of the people, is by a parliamentary opposition. This was the only course which Lord Russell and his friends ever thought of adopting, and they did it under circumstances extremely discouraging; for they could expect little support in a parliament chosen in the heat of the restoration, and still less assistance from a press restrained by the curb of a license act."<sup>2</sup>

Lord Russell made his first speech in parliament on the 22d of January, 1674. The house had already refused the supplies, and the duke and Lord Clifford had been removed from their respective offices

<sup>1</sup> London, 1820, 2 vols. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Lord W. Russell, vol. i. p. 63, 64.

of high-admiral and high-treasurer ; the redress of grievances now occupied its attention. Lord Russell, in his speech, complained of the shutting of the exchequer, and of the attack on the Smyrna fleet. He accused the ministers of receiving pensions from France, and called upon all good and true men to look to the interests of their country. The opposition proved effectual. Charles found himself necessitated to consult his commons upon the expediency of making peace ; the alliance with France was broken ; the ministers of the crown were struck with a salutary dread of consequences to themselves, and the king had no longer a council to whom he could confide his pernicious machinations. After a prorogation of fourteen months, parliament again met in April, 1675, when Lord Russell moved an address to remove Earl Danby from the king's presence, on the ground of mismanagement at the treasury. Danby escaped for this time ; and Charles renewed his shameful secret treaties with the French king, who had already pensioned his profligate ministers. During the session of parliament which met in January, 1678, an interview took place between Lords Russell and Hollis, and the marquess de Rouvigny, long the head of the protestant interest in France, who had been sent over by Louis to confer with the popular party, which has been made the ground of a malignant charge by Dalrymple, who attempts to represent Russell as holding corrupt intercourse with the French court at this time. From such a charge it is hardly necessary to vindicate the memory of Russell. Barillon himself admits that in the first interview with Rouvigny—who, it should be remembered, was Lady Russell's cousin—Lord Russell indignantly refused the offers of money which the agent of Louis was authorised to make.<sup>3</sup> In the list of persons to whom he had distributed bribes, which Barillon transmitted to his court, the name of Lord Russell does not occur ; and even if it had been mentioned, we should have felt strongly disposed to suspect the agent's dishonesty rather than Russell's disloyalty. The English lords openly expressed to Rouvigny their want of confidence in his master ; but on being assured by him that Louis did not feel it to be for his interest to make the king of England absolute, they did enter into an agreement to hinder, if possible, the war with France, on the condition that Louis would compel Charles to dissolve the existing parliament. There was nothing criminal in this ; it was only attempting to give to foreign interference already admitted, a salutary direction, and making Charles's intrigues the means of his own defeat. Besides, a dissolution of parliament was anxiously desired by every patriotic member of the house ; the agreement with Rouvigny, therefore, was in perfect consistency with the patriotic professions of Russell.

At length the parliament was dissolved, in January, 1679, but not through foreign interference. The invention of the Popish plot had alarmed the members. The duke himself had been threatened with a motion for his removal from the king's presence and counsels, and Danby had been impeached of high treason. The former supported the dissolution from the dread that parliament might adopt ulterior measures affecting his succession to the throne ; the latter readily came

<sup>3</sup> Milford Russell repondit qu'il servit bien fâché avoir commerce avec des gens capables d'être gagnés par de l'argent.

to an understanding with the country-party that in the event of a dissolution his withdrawal from public affairs would suffice to shelter him from any more serious consequences. The elections turned out more adverse to the duke than he had anticipated. In April, 1679, Lord Russell, admitted to a new privy-council, formed at the suggestion of Sir W. Temple, gave his opinion and vote in favour of the plan of limitation in the event of a Popish successor; but he afterwards saw reason to alter his views on this point, and, after his retirement from the council, he seconded Colonel Titus in his motion for the appointment of a committee to draw up a bill "to disable James, duke of York, from inheriting the imperial crown of this realm." The lords rejected this bill after it had passed the commons; but the country party continued to press it, and Russell called upon the commons to refuse supplies. A prorogation took place in January, 1681, which was followed by a dissolution. The next parliament met at Oxford on the 21st of the same month. On the 26th, the exclusion bill was again introduced on the motion of Sir R. Clayton, seconded by Lord Russell. Charles now resolved to govern without a parliament, and the reign of terror commenced.

It was this state of affairs which led to the conspiracy of the dukes of Monmouth and Argyle. Lord Russell associated with the conspirators for the sole purpose of procuring the exclusion of the duke, and redress of grievances. But the plot was discovered about the same time with the Rye-house affair, and Lord Russell, being apprehended, was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, on the 13th of July, 1683. No proof was adduced on the trial either of his designing the death of the king, or even assenting to it; and, upon the showing of his enemies themselves, both the spirit and letter of our laws were violated in his condemnation. In the outset of the trial, one of those moving circumstances which abound in the catastrophe of this gallant nobleman's story, occurred. When told by the chief-justice that he might employ any of his servants to act as his secretary during the progress of his trial, he replied, "My wife is here, my lord, to do it." Lady Russell had announced to him her intention of being present the night before; and she nobly fulfilled the arduous task which she took upon her. Lord Russell, after his condemnation, was prevailed upon to petition for his life; he did so with reluctance, and without the least hope of success. As he folded up the packet, he remarked, "This will be printed, and will be selling about the streets when I am dead." The last week of his existence was spent in serious preparation. Bishops Burnet and Tillotson were much with him. On the evening before his execution, he took a last leave of his children; his wife supped with him, at his request; he talked very cheerfully with her, and kissed her four or five times before she left him. When she was gone, he said, "Now the bitterness of death is past," and dwelt for some time in a strain of deep but subdued tenderness, on her many excellencies, and her unshaken attachment to him in his extremity. His servant requested he might sit up in his chamber while he slept. This he refused, and was locked up between eleven and twelve, leaving orders to be called at four. When his servant came at that hour, he found him sound asleep, and shortly after being awakened, he fell asleep again. Dr Burnet coming in woke him, saying, "What, my lord, asleep!" "Yes, doctor," he

said, "I have slept heartily since one o'clock." He then desired him to go to his wife, to say that he was well, and had slept well, and hoped she had done so. After his speech on the scaffold, and some time spent in devotion, he knelt down, and prayed three or four minutes by himself. He then undressed himself, and took off his cravat, without the least change of countenance. "When he had lain down," says Dr Burnet, "I once looked at him, and saw no change in his looks; and, though he was still lifting up his hands, there was no trembling, though in the moment in which I looked the executioner happened to be laying his axe to his neck to direct him to take aim. I thought it touched him, but am sure he seemed not to mind it." The executioner, at two strokes, cut off his head. Thus fell, to gratify the revenge of a miscreant, one of England's best and greatest citizens. It is said that Charles wished to save him, but "was forced to consent to his death, otherwise he must have broke with his brother."

We do not regard Lord William Russell as a man of brilliant talents. It was the moral weight of his character which gave him his influence with the nation. Burnet, who knew him well, has left the following portrait of him:—"Lord Russell was a man of great candour, and of general reputation; universally beloved and trusted; of a generous and obliging temper. He had given such proofs of an undaunted courage, and of an unshaken firmness, that I never knew any man have so entire a credit in the nation as he had. He quickly got out of some of the disorders into which the court had drawn him, and, everafter that, his life was unblemished in all respects. He had from his first education an inclination to favour the nonconformists, and wished the laws could have been made easier to them, or they more pliant to the law. He was a slow man, and of little discourse, but he had a true judgment, when he considered things at his own leisure: his understanding was not defective; but his virtues were so eminent, that they would have more than balanced real defects, if any had been found in the other."

The life of the good, the noble-minded, the unfortunate Lady Russell, is so identified with that of her illustrious lord, and the circumstances of his trial and death, that it is unnecessary to devote a separate memoir to the record of her life and virtues, though she deserves to live for ever in the remembrance of her countrywomen, as an ornament and model of the sex. "The peculiarity which is most striking in Lady Russell," remarks the biographer of her husband, "is, that she was esteemed and consulted by her contemporaries, and has been admired and esteemed by posterity, without any ambitious efforts of her own. She neither sought to shine in the world by the extent of her capacity, nor to display, by affected retirement, the elevation of her soul; and when circumstances obliged her to come forward on the stage of history, she showed herself in the appropriate character of a wife and a mother." She was the second daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, by his first wife, Rachael de Rouvigny. She was born about the year 1636; and in her seventeenth or eighteenth year was given in marriage to Francis, Lord Vaughan, eldest son of the earl of Carberry. She early became a widow; for in 1667 she appears to have received the addresses of Mr Russell, then only a younger brother. She survived her lord forty years. Her eldest son, the duke of Bedford, was snatched away by the small-pox,



in the vigour of life. Her second daughter, afterwards duchess of Rutland, died in child-bed within a year of her brother's decease; her eldest daughter, the duchess of Devonshire, was left singly to close her mother's eyes, on the 29th of September, 1723, at the great age of 86. On the accession of the prince and princess of Orange, one of the first acts of the government was the reversal of Lord Russell's attainder, while his widow became the object of universal respect and consideration. Tillotson applied for her sanction of his acceptance of the dignity offered him by King William. Lady Sunderland, the wife of one who had been a principal adviser of Charles II., at the time of Russell's execution, lived to solicit Lady Russell's intercession; and even the duchess of Marlborough thought it necessary to assure herself of Lady Russell's approbation in the critical juncture of advising the princess Anne to acquiesce in the settlement of the crown on the prince of Orange. There appears to be no other foundation, however, than this circumstance, for Madame De Stael's assertion, that Lady Russell was often consulted by King William's ministers, and by Queen Anne herself, on political measures.

### Algernon Sydney.

BORN A. D. 1622.—DIED A. D. 1683.

THE name of ALGERNON SYDNEY ranks among the most illustrious of which the annals of England can boast, and yet his life was distinguished by no extraordinary actions,—he was neither a leader in the camp nor the senate,—his family influence was but small—and his fortune barely competent to his maintenance. It was the virtues of his personal character alone that invested him with that moral dignity and that celebrity which, in spite of the affected disregard of some, have made his name immortal on earth.

Algernon Sydney was the second son of Robert, earl of Leicester, who was nephew of the renowned Sir Philip Sydney. He was born in 1622.<sup>1</sup> In 1636, Lord Leicester was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the court of France; his family went with him to Paris, where, and subsequently in Italy, Algernon had an opportunity of receiving a very liberal education. His stern love of country, which in him was rather a platonic sentiment than a cherished passion, is the more remarkable, it has been justly observed, as it can scarcely be said to have grown in its native soil. Being destined for the military profession, application was first made to the prince of Orange for a troop of horse for him in the Dutch service; but this not being obtained, his father, on being appointed to the government of Ireland, sent him into that kingdom, with his elder brother, Lord Lisle, as a captain in his own regiment of horse, in which service he highly distinguished himself against the rebels. After two years of service in Ireland, he was recalled to England, where he immediately espoused the popular cause, though his father adhered to the king, and was appointed to the command of a troop in Manchester's army. In the course of a few

<sup>1</sup> Some have said 1617, but Meadley has corrected this error.

weeks he obtained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and fought with much gallantry at the head of his commander's regiment in the battle of Marston Moor. On his recovery from the wounds which he had received in this action, he was promoted to the command of a regiment of horse in Sir Thomas Fairfax's army. "*Sanctus amor patriæ dat animum*," was the motto which he chose for his banner, and which became the watchword of his life.

In 1646, he was appointed commander of the cavalry forces in Ireland, but the service was much impeded by a misunderstanding with Lord Inchiquin, and Sydney returned to England in 1647. In 1648, he was named governor of Dover castle, and, when it was determined to bring the king to trial, he was appointed one of the commissioners; he attended several of the preliminary consultations in the painted chamber, but he retired into the country before the unhappy monarch was arraigned. It is proper, however, to add, that Sydney, considering the king as having been guilty of violating the constitution, and putting his subjects unlawfully to death, approved the sentence of the court. When at Copenhagen, after the revolution, it was observed to him one day in company, that he had not been guilty of the late king's death, he indignantly replied: "Guilty! do you call that guilt? Why, it was the justest and the bravest action that ever was done in England or any where else!" But when, during his exile, a plan to assassinate the prince of Wales was submitted to him, he expressed his unqualified abhorrence of the proposal, and prevented the execution of it.

In 1651, Sydney was elected a member of the council of state. In this situation he continued to act until Cromwell, under the title of protector, dismissed his republican co-operators, and virtually seized the sovereignty. In Lord Leicester's journal, we find the following curious memorandum:—"Wednesday, April 20th, 1653. It happened that Algernon Sydney sat next to the speaker on the right hand. The general said to Harrison, 'Put him out;' Harrison spake to Sydney to go out, but he said he would not go out, and sat still. The general said again, 'Put him out;' then Harrison and Worsley put their hands upon Sydney's shoulders, as if they would force him to go out; then he rose and went towards the door." Sydney now retired to Penshurst, and is supposed to have employed some part of his leisure in composing, or at least sketching, his matchless '*Discourses on Government*.' In 1654, he visited the Hague, where he gained the acquaintance of the illustrious De Witt. At the restoration of the long parliament, he returned to England, and accepted an appointment to go with Sir Robert Honeywood and Bulstrode Whitelock, to mediate a peace between Denmark and Sweden. By the time this negotiation was concluded, Charles II. had been restored to the throne of his father, and Sydney, though strongly urged by Monk to return, retired to Italy, after explaining the motives of his conduct in a long letter to a friend, of which we shall quote some parts: "I am sorry," he says, "I cannot in all things conform myself to the advices of my friends. If theirs had any joint concernment with mine, I should willingly submit my interest to theirs; but when I alone am interested, and they only advise me to come over as soon as the act of indemnity is passed, because they think it is best for me, I cannot wholly lay aside my own judgment

and choice. I confess we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country, and I have a particular love to mine. I hope I have given some testimony of it. I think that being exiled from it is a great evil, and would redeem myself from it with the loss of a great deal of my blood. But when that country of mine, which used to be esteemed a paradise, is now like to be made a stage of injury; the liberty which we hoped to establish oppressed; luxury and lewdness set up in its height, instead of the piety, virtue, sobriety, and modesty, which we hoped God, by our hands, would have introduced; the best of our nation made a prey to the worst; the parliament, court, and army, corrupted; the people enslaved; all things vendible; no man safe, but by such evil and infamous means, as flattery and bribery; what joy can I have in my own country in this condition? Is it a pleasure to see, that all I love in the world is sold and destroyed? Shall I renounce all my old principles, learn the vile court-arts, and make my peace by bribing some of them? Shall their corruption and vice be my safety? Ah! no; better is a life among strangers, than in my own country upon such conditions. Whilst I live, I will endeavour to preserve my liberty; or at least not consent to the destroying of it. I hope I shall die in the same principles in which I have lived, and will live no longer than they can preserve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies; but, as I think, of no meanness. I will not blot and defile that which is past, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when God should cast me into such a condition, as that I cannot save my life but by doing an indecent thing, he shows me the time is come wherein I should resign it: and when I cannot live in my own country but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think he shows me, I ought to keep myself out of it. Let them please themselves with making the king glorious, who think a whole people may justly be sacrificed for the interest and pleasure of one man, and a few of his followers; let them rejoice in their subtilty, who, by betraying the former powers, have gained the favour of this, not only preserved, but advanced themselves in these dangerous changes. Nevertheless, perhaps, they may find, the king's glory is their shame; his plenty the people's misery; and that the gaining of an office, or a little money, is a poor reward for destroying a nation, which, if it were preserved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the most glorious in the world; and that others may find, they have with much pains purchased their own shame and misery, a dear price paid for that which is not worth keeping, nor the life that is accompanied with it. The honour of English parliaments have ever been in making the nation glorious and happy, not in selling and destroying the interest of it, to satisfy the lusts of one man.—When the innocence of my actions will not protect me, I will stay away till the storm be over-passed. In short, where Vane, Lambert, Haselrig, cannot live in safety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in England, I should have expected a lodging with them; or though they may be the first, as being more eminent than I, I must expect to follow their example in suffering as I have been their companion in acting.—I have not learnt to make my own peace, by persecuting and betraying my brethren, more innocent and worthy than myself. I must live by just means, and serve to just ends, or not at all.

After such a manifestation of the ways by which it is intended the king shall govern, I should have renounced any place of favour, into which the kindness and industry of my friends might have advanced me, when I found those that were better than I, were only fit to be destroyed.—My thoughts as to king and state depending upon their actions, no man shall be a more faithful servant to him than I, if he make the good and prosperity of his people his glory; none more his enemy, if he doth the contrary.”

The fugitive patriot, with a heart secretly bleeding for the degradation of his own country, made himself a curious and acute spectator of the intrigues and contentions of foreign courts. His patrimony had been greatly reduced by an advance which he had made to his brother-in-law, Lord Strangford, and an unfortunate difference having taken place with his father, his pecuniary means were altogether of a very limited and uncertain kind. Yet he bore his hard fortune with a degree of equanimity and patience which his persecutors might have envied. The following passage, which occurs in one of his letters, shows what a noble and vigorous mind Sydney possessed, and how independent he truly was of aid from without:—“He that is naked, alone, and without help in the open sea, is less unhappy in the night when he may hope the land is near, than in the day when he sees it is not, and that there is no possibility of safety. Whilst I was at Rome, I wrote letters without much pain, since I had not so divided my time as to be very sensible of losing an hour or two; now, I am alone, time grows much more precious unto me, and I am very unwilling to lose any part of it.” In 1663, he left Italy, and travelled through Switzerland, where he spent some weeks with his early friend Ludlow, and his companions in exile. He then proceeded to Brussels, where he occupied himself for a time with a plan for engaging in the service of Austria with a body of troops which he proposed to raise from among his old republican companions at home. The scheme was rejected by the English cabinet, and Sydney next urged the French government to invade England, for the purpose of restoring the commonwealth. This project also came to nothing, but Sydney was allowed to live quietly two years under the avowed protection of Louis XIV. An anecdote is related of him strikingly characteristic of his haughty and stubborn independence, at the time when he was enjoying an asylum, and perhaps experiencing the bounty of this self-willed monarch:—“The king of France having taken a fancy to a fine English horse, on which he had seen Sydney mounted at a chace, requested that he would part with it at his own price. On his declining the proposal, the king, determined to take no denial, gave orders to tender him money, or to seize the horse. Sydney, on hearing this, instantly took a pistol and shot it, saying, ‘that his horse was born a free creature, had served a free man, and should not be mastered by a king of slaves.’”<sup>2</sup>

In 1677, by the interest of the earl, his father, he obtained permission to visit England. His father died soon after his arrival, and a long and vexatious suit in chancery, with his elder brother, compelled him to convert what he had intended as a temporary into a permanent

<sup>2</sup> Meadley, p. 151.

residence in England. Finding himself likely to remain a citizen of England, he made several attempts to get into parliament, in which he was strenuously supported by the celebrated quaker, William Penn ; but court influence and intrigue prevailed against him, and frustrated the efforts of the liberal party to place such a valuable man in parliament. Sydney now knew himself to be both feared and hated by the government ; he felt also its snares to be around him, but he quailed not at the imminent peril of his situation. With the scaffold and the axe almost before him, he pursued his undaunted career as the public opponent of whatever measures appeared to him pernicious to the national interests. When, in 1681, Charles dissolved the parliament at Oxford, and put forth a declaration, or appeal to the public, in vindication of his conduct, the opposition instantly met it with a counter-declaration, the rough draught of which is said to have come from the pen of Sydney. He also made himself conspicuous by his opposition to Sir William Temple's scheme of an alliance between England, Holland, and Spain, against France. In the progress of this affair, he is accused of having accepted two sums of five hundred guineas from Barillon, a French minister at the court of London. On this point there is no express evidence ; and the following just and candid observations of his biographer, Mr Meadley, deserve consideration :—" It is no wonder that Barillon should avail himself of the opportunity of conciliating his favourable dispositions, as Rouvigny had attempted with Lord Russell in a preceding year : and it was no easy matter for Sydney to decline altogether the advances of a minister, whose country had afforded him an asylum in the time of need. The discovery, however, of their intercourse, as it appears in Barillon's correspondence with his sovereign, has been thought to cast a shade over his character, and belie the integrity of his mind. And yet, no evidence has been adduced to show, that he countenanced any one of that ambassador's projects, which was hostile to the interest of his own country, or avowed a single sentiment inconsistent with his former life, Barillon, indeed, explicitly declares, that, though exposed to suspicion from his connection with Lord Sunderland, Sydney's principles were still unchanged.

" It must, however, be conceded, that the receipt of two sums of money, with which Barillon has separately charged him, admits not of an easy defence ; though much, no doubt, depends on the manner in which such sums were accepted, and the purposes to which they were applied. There is, in fact, an essential difference between the mercenary hireling who betrays his country, and the man who receives money, from a quarter otherwise objectionable, at a great national crisis, and solely on a public account. But, whilst the demerit of the action arises chiefly from the motives of the receiver, no explanatory documents have hitherto appeared : Barillon simply charging Sydney with the sums in question, as a part of his secret disbursements. The ambassador, indeed, insinuates, that, having hitherto given Sydney no more money than had been expressly ordered, he had by no means satisfied his demands ; but should find it easy to engage him altogether in his master's interest, by advancing a still larger sum.

" As, in estimating the credibility of any single witness, every thing turns on the character and situation of the party ; without disputing the

general authenticity of Barillon's statements, his fidelity may be fairly questioned, in a case where he was doubly interested to deceive. He might at once be induced to enhance the importance of his own services, by including such a man as Algernon Sydney amongst his adherents; and to charge, as the price of his engagement, sums which had been otherwise appropriated: a suspicion which derives additional weight from two passages in the Letters of Madame de Sevigné, where he is said to have grown rich in his employ.

"Or, if Sydney received money from this minister, it was doubtless for some public purpose, as he is understood to have made occasional disbursements among his own inferior partizans. Even on this less probable view of the subject, his character may be free from stain; unless it be received as an indisputable maxim, that, in resisting the oppression of an arbitrary government, it is immoral to accept of foreign aid. In the general conduct of nations, it has rarely happened, that the best purposes have been effected by the exertions of the pure and well-principled alone; and a man like Sydney should not be too harshly censured, if, in endeavouring to maintain his country's freedom, he occasionally sought for, or derived assistance from, less disinterested and ingenuous minds.—

"Of the arrogant pretensions of Barillon, Sydney had been long aware; and, in alluding to his mistaken views of his own influence, had spoken of him to Savile in the language of unfeigned contempt. 'You know,' said he, July 10, 1679, 'Monsieur de Barillon governs us, if he be not mistaken; but he seems not to be so much pleased with that, as to find his *embonpoint* increased, by the moistness of our air, by frequently clapping his hands upon his thighs, showing the delight he hath in the sharpness of the sound, that testifies the plumpness and hardness of his flesh; and certainly, if this climate did not nourish him better than any other, the hairs of his nose, and nails of his fingers, could not grow so fast, as to furnish enough of the one to pull out, and of the other to cut off, in all companies, which being done, he picks his ears with as good a grace as my Lord La.' It is probable, therefore, that Sydney merely tolerated the intercourse of this minister, without entering into any of his views of policy, as they regarded the interest of France alone."

We must now hasten over some lesser incidents in Sydney's life, to notice, in a few words, his arrest, trial, and execution, in 1683, on the pretence of his being concerned in the Rye-house plot, a scheme for the assassination of the king and the duke of York, on their return from Newmarket. He was brought to trial soon after sentence had been pronounced on Lord William Russell, and though no evidence appeared against him, the bloody Jefferies did not hesitate to convict him of a specific charge on the testimony of his unuttered and unpublished thoughts and opinions, as gathered from his manuscripts which were seized. Sydney defended himself with undaunted fortitude, and in the short interval between his trial and execution, drew up an appeal to posterity on the injustice of his fate. How well that appeal has been responded to let the oft-repeated popular sentiment bear witness—"The cause for which Hampden bled in the field, and Russell and Sydney on the scaffold!"

On the morning of the 7th of December, he was led forth to the

place of execution on Tower-hill. He ascended the scaffold with a firm step and undaunted mien. Having made the necessary preparations, he kneeled down, and after a solemn pause of a few moments, calmly laid his head upon the block. Being asked by the executioner if he should rise again, he instantly replied, "Not till the general resurrection.—Strike on!" The executioner obeyed the mandate, and severed his head from his body at a blow.

## Finch, Earl of Nottingham.

BORN A. D. 1621.—DIED A. D. 1682.

HENEAGE FINCH, one of the best lawyers on the side of the court during the contest with the parliament, was born on the 23d of December, 1621. His father was speaker of the house of commons in the first parliament of Charles I. Heneage was educated at Westminster and Christ church. He studied law in the Inner Temple, and soon acquired a very extensive practice as chamber-counsel; to which line he prudently confined himself during the domination of the commonwealth-men.

Immediately after the Restoration, he was named solicitor-general. In April, 1661, he was elected to serve in parliament for the university of Oxford. His career in the house was as unpopular as high church and royal prerogative principles could make it; but it served to secure for him the confidence of the king. On the 9th of November, 1673, he was made keeper of the great seal, upon the dismissal of Shaftesbury. On the 10th of the succeeding January, the title of Baron Finch of Daventry, in the county of Northampton, was conferred on him; and in December, 1675, he received the title of lord-high-chancellor. On the 12th of May, 1681, he was raised to the dignity of earl of Nottingham. He died in the following year.

To the above bare chronological outline little can be added. Finch was a good lawyer, and a discreet man, but he neither possessed nor advanced pretensions to the character of a leader in the troublous times in which his lot was cast. Lord Orford says of him, and with justice, that he was 'a great temporiser.' Yet Burnet allows that he was 'a man of probity, and well versed in the laws.' The truth seems to be that where interest did not intervene, Finch, like most other men moving in the eyes of the public, acted circumspectly and with a due regard to the laws which he was appointed to administer; but we can discover no traces in his history and character of that intrepid virtue which distinguished so many of his political and professional contemporaries. His speech, on passing judgment on Lord Stafford, would alone suffice, if no other evidence of the fact was on record, to show that his mind was under some of the worst influences which a servant of the crown is exposed to. His speeches and discourses on the trials of the regicides might also be referred to in proof of the same remark.

## Lord Guilford.

BORN A. D. 1640.—DIED A. D. 1685.

FRANCIS NORTH, afterwards Baron Guilford, and lord-keeper of the great seal, was the second son of Dudley, Lord North. His earliest education was received under a Presbyterian schoolmaster. He was then removed to Bury school under the superintendence of 'a cavalier master,' and in 1653 became a fellow-commoner of St John's college, Cambridge. Being destined for the bar, he was admitted of the Middle Temple in 1665. Here he studied with great diligence, and on being called to the bar was much noticed and encouraged by the attorney-general Sir Geoffrey Palmer, who often employed him to search authorities for him. He made his first public appearance in arguing the writ of error brought on the conviction of Hollis and the other five members. The talent which he displayed on this occasion procured for him the rank of king's counsel on the recommendation of the duke of York. His practice now rapidly increased; and, on the 23d of May, 1671, he was appointed solicitor-general on the elevation of Sir Edward Turner, and, according to custom, received the honour of knighthood. While he held this office he was returned to parliament as member for Lynn; and on the promotion of Sir Heneage Finch to the woolsack, Sir Francis succeeded him as attorney-general. Practice now "flowed upon him like an *orage*, enough to upset one that had not extraordinary readiness in business." Yet with all his professional engagements, he found time for more liberal studies, and acquired considerable knowledge of the modern languages.

On the death of Sir John Vaughan, chief-justice of the common pleas, Sir Francis North was promoted to the vacant dignity. He now applied himself to the reformation of the abuses which existed in the practice of that court, and had a principal hand in framing the famous statute of frauds and perjuries, of which Lord Nottingham is reported to have said that every line was worth a subsidy. "He was," says his admiring biographer and younger brother, Roger North, "very good at way-laying the craft of counsel, for he, as they say, had been in the oven himself, and knew where to look for the paste." On the formation of the Whig administration under Sir William Temple, Sir Francis was constituted a member of the privy council. On the death of Lord-keeper Finch, Sir Francis, after some dallying with Rochester, received the seal from the hand of the king himself, with this warning, "Here, my lord, take it; you will find it heavy!" "The evening that we spent upon this errand to Whitehall," says Roger North, "some of us stayed in expectation of his coming home, which was not till near ten; little doubting the change that was to happen. At last he came with more splutter than ordinary, divers persons (for honour) waiting, and others attending to wish him joy, and a rabble of officers that belonged to the seal, completing the crowd which filled his little house. His lordship, by despatching these incumbrances, got himself clear as fast as he could, and then I alone staid with him. He took a turn or two in his dining-room and said nothing, by which I perceived his spirits were



very much soiled ; therefore I kept silence also, expecting what would follow. There was no need of asking when the purse with the great seal lay upon the table. At last his lordship's discourses and actions discovered that he was in a very great passion, such as may be termed agony, of which I never saw in him any like appearance since I first knew him. He had kept it in long, and after he was free it broke out with greater force, and, accordingly, he made use of me to ease his mind upon. That which so much troubled him, was the being thought so weak as to take ill usage from those about the king (meaning the earl of Rochester) with whom he had lived well, and ought to have been better understood. And instead of common friendship, to be haggled withal about a pension, as at the purchase of a horse or an ox, and after he had declared positively not to accept without a pension, as if he were so frivolous to insist and desist all in a moment, and, as it were, to be wheedled and charmed by their insignificant tropes; and what was worse than all, as he more than once repeated, 'to think me worthy of so great a trust, and withal so little and mean as to endure such usage as was disobliging, inconsistent, and insufferable. What have I done?' said he, 'that may give them cause to think me of so poor a spirit as to be thus terrified with?' And so on with more of like animosity which I cannot undertake to remember. And, after these exhalations, I could perceive that by degrees his mind became more composed."

In the court of chancery the lord-keeper pursued his general reforms, and experienced the usual opposition which has always attended all attempts to "purge out the peccant humours" of that court. The accession of Sunderland, Godolphin, and Jefferies, to the cabinet, placed the lord-keeper in a painful position; but he had the fortitude to adhere to his principles as a protestant, and, though he stood single in his opposition, stoutly resisted the motion made by Jefferies for a general pardon to the imprisoned recusants. The death of Charles, and the accession of James II., exposed his principles to a still severer test; and his constitutional opposition to sundry measures proposed by Jefferies, soon rendered him highly obnoxious to the court. At the opening of the new parliament he was not even consulted as to the substance of the king's speech, much less entrusted, as had been the custom hitherto, with the drawing up of it; his decrees in court were "most brutishly and effrontuously arraigned;" at court and at council "nothing squared with his schemes;" and he was by "Sunderland, Jefferies, and their complices, little less than derided." Treatment so unmerited and from such personages gradually wrought upon his mind, till he fell into a deep and settled melancholy. "His feverish disease," says his affectionate biographer, "growing upon him, his spirits, and all that should buoy a man up under oppression, not only failed, but other things of a malign complexion succeeded to bring him lower: which may be fully understood by this circumstance. He took a fancy that he looked out of countenance, as he termed it; that is, as one ashamed, or as if he had done ill, and not with that face of authority as he used to bear; and for that reason, when he went into Westminster-hall, in the summer term, he used to take nosegays of flowers to hold before his face, that people might not discern his dejection; and once in private having told me this fancy, he asked me if I did not perceive it. I answered him, not in the least, nor did I believe any one else did observe any such thing; but

that he was not well in health as he used to be was plain enough. His lordship in this state took a resolution to quit the great seal, and went to my Lord Rochester to intercede with his majesty to accept it, which had been no hard matter to obtain. But that noble lord had no mind to part with such a screen, and at that time (as he told me himself) he diverted him. But his lordship persisted, as will be made appear afterwards, by a letter. Whereupon the lord Rochester obtained of the king that his lordship might retire with the seal into the country; and that the officers with their concerns should attend him there, in hopes that by the use of the waters and fresh air, he might recover his health against next winter, when it was hoped he would return perfectly recovered. This was indeed a royal condescension and singular favour to him." The spot chosen for Sir Francis's retirement was Wroxton in Oxfordshire; but the hopes of a recovery were vain; the powers of nature rapidly gave way, and on the 5th of September, 1685, he breathed his last. His life has been written with all the amiable partiality of affection by his younger brother; but justice compels us to estimate his public character many degrees lower than his biographer has done. Lord-keeper Guilford had few elements of real greatness in his character. He was an honest man compared with many around him, but he did not altogether escape the political corruption of the age in which he lived. He was indebted for his elevation to the possession of a sound discretion rather than to any eminence of talents. As a lawyer he was respectable, but did not occupy the foremost rank. In private life his character was amiable, and well-fitted to endear him to his family and friends.

### Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury.

BORN A. D. 1621.—DIED A. D. 1683.



THIS celebrated statesman was the son of Sir John Cooper of Rockburn, Hants, and Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Ashley of Winborne, St Giles, in the county of Dorset. He was born at the house of his maternal grandfather, on the 22d of July, 1621. At the age of fifteen he was entered of Exeter college, Oxford, where he distinguished himself by the frequent display of high powers, and by constant assiduity in study. From college he removed to Lincoln's inn, where he chiefly devoted himself to constitutional law and English history. In the parliament which met in April, 1640, he sat as representative for Tewkesbury, though only nineteen years of age.

On the breaking out of the civil war he manifested a decided inclination to adhere to the king's party, but his views were of too moderate and compromising a cast for Charles at this period, and although he was subsequently invited to Oxford, and went thither, yet he found himself distrusted by the court, and soon after retired in disgust. Clarendon says that he immediately "gave himself up, body and soul," to the popular party. Without attaching much value to such testimony, from such a quarter, we are compelled to allow that young Cooper passed from the one party to the other with more facility than was altogether consistent with political integrity; personal resentment, rather

than any conscientious change of sentiment, seems to have dictated his conduct in the present instance, but Clarendon stoops to the part of a defamer when he avers that from the moment of his making common cause with the parliament, he "became an implacable enemy to the royal family." On the contrary, he had a considerable part in bringing about the private negotiation between Charles and Lord Hollis, on the occasion of the treaty of Uxbridge; and it is said that the insurrection of the club-men was a contrivance of his to check the power which, after the battle of Naseby, was assumed by the leaders of the army. In 1646 he was appointed sheriff of Wilts. On the breaking up of the long parliament, Sir Anthony was one of the members of the convention which succeeded it. Cromwell had marked the talents and knew the influence of the young man, and did his best to attach him to his party, but failed. In 1654, we find Sir Anthony signing the famous protestation against the tyranny and arbitrary measures of the protector; yet he retained a seat in the privy-council while opposing the head of the government.

After the deposition of Richard Cromwell, Sir Anthony was named one of the council of state, and a commissioner of the army; but he had now chosen his part with Monk, and was actively engaged in concerting those measures which led to the Restoration. He was one of the twelve members who carried the invitation to Charles II.; and on the arrival of the king in England, he was appointed a member of the privy-council. It would have been well for his political memory that he had declined the office which was soon afterwards conferred on him, of a commissioner in the trial of the regicides. He accepted it, perhaps, with reluctance, and it is certain that he evinced no rancour towards the unfortunate objects of his sovereign's hatred; but he ought at once peremptorily to have declined the task of sitting in judgment upon men for offences in which he was not altogether guiltless of participation.

On the 20th of April, 1661, Sir Anthony was created Baron Ashley of Winborne, St Giles; soon after, he was made chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and one of the lords commissioners for executing the office of high-treasurer. He was now a leading member of the famous cabal ministry; and it is really doubtful whether or not he was the spirit which actuated that infamous association in some of its worst plots against the liberties and constitution of the country. The testimony on this point is conflicting and very puzzling; and his public conduct at this period is not a little enigmatical. For example, we find him promoting the declaration for liberty of conscience, and uttering many very just and manly sentiments on the subject of religious toleration. We know also that Charles hesitated to entrust him with the secret of his disgraceful treaty with the French king; but then, on the other hand, we find him strongly charged with having originated the plan for shutting up the exchequer, and with issuing writs for the election of members of parliament during a recess. We know, also, that he strenuously supported the unjust and ruinous war with Holland.

In 1672 he was created Baron Cooper of Pawlet, in Somerset, and earl of Shaftesbury; and in the following November, he was named lord-high-chancellor. His conduct on the bench was able, impartial,

and resolute ; but it failed to satisfy the court. It approximated too much to political independence. The duke of York became restless for the dismissal of a man whose principles he dreaded ; and Shaftesbury, before he had been much more than a year in office, saw the seals pass from his hands to those of a much less considerable, but more pliant man, Sir Heneage Finch.

Shaftesbury now became one of the most active and powerful leaders of the opposition. We are not prepared to vindicate the facility with which he passed from the extreme side of the state of one party to the extreme side of the other ; on the contrary, we admit the charge, that he was both a factious and an interested man ; but we maintain that the principles to which he now gave his support were sound and constitutional ; and that when with Buckingham he was committed to the Tower for the boldness with which they maintained that a prorogation of fifteen months amounted to a dissolution of parliament, he, and his associate lords were entitled to the respect and gratitude of every lover of his country's liberty. He has been charged with the contrivance of the popish plot in 1678, for the purpose of embarrassing the ministry. It is difficult to determine what was the nature of his connexion with that extraordinary piece of political knavery ; but it is certain that he made a very able use of the occurrence to force out Danby's administration, and compel the king once more to replace him at the head of affairs. On the 21st of April, 1679, Shaftesbury was appointed lord-president of the new privy-council ; but he remained in office only four months. The duke of York laboured to displace a minister whose endeavours to promote a bill for his exclusion from the succession he knew to have been unremitting ; and he soon carried his point with his weak and infatuated brother. On his dismissal from office, he was charged by some of the duke's creatures with subornation of perjury, and was tried for that offence, but acquitted by his jury. Soon after this Dryden's severe satire of Absalom and Achitophel appeared, in which the fallen minister was very roughly treated. The earl fully felt the poet's lash, but nevertheless acted most generously towards his satirist. Having the nomination to a scholarship as governor of the charter house, he gave it to one of the poet's sons, without any solicitation. This act of generosity melted Dryden, and in the next edition of the poem, he added the four following lines in praise of the earl's conduct as lord-chancellor.

" In Israel's court ne'er sat an Abethdin  
With more discerning eyes or hands more clean,  
Unbrib'd, unsought, the wretched to redress,  
Swift of dispatch, and easy of access."

Shaftesbury, now thoroughly disgusted with political life, resolved to bid a final adieu to the scene of his alternate triumphs and disappointments, and to every thing which could tempt him once more to descend into the arena of party-strife. With this view, he arranged his affairs in England, and embarked in November, 1682, for Holland, where he purposed to spend the remainder of his days in complete retirement. He arrived in Amsterdam, and had just completed an establishment suitable to his rank in that city, when he was attacked by gout in the stomach, which terminated his existence on the 22d of January, 1683.

Shaftesbury has been unfortunate in his biographers. They were all men of high party-spirit, and have in many instances dealt unfairly by his memory. It is also unfortunate both for the earl and for posterity, that the history of his own times which he had himself drawn up and submitted for publication to John Locke, should have perished as it did. Locke, on the execution of Algernon Sidney on a charge of treason, substantiated only by his private papers, became apprehensive for himself, and committed Lord Shaftesbury's manuscripts with other papers to the flames. Had this document seen the light, it is probable that Shaftesbury's character would have stood much higher than it does with posterity; much of his history would have been rescued from actual misrepresentation; and some dubious points might have been cleared up to the satisfaction of his friends. It is hardly possible to conceive that a man whom Locke honoured with his friendship and confidence, was all that Needham, Otway and the Oxford historian have represented him.

### Charles Fleetwood.

DIED A. D. 1688.

CHARLES FLEETWOOD, lord-deputy of Ireland during the protectorate, was the son of Sir William Fleetwood. He took an early and decided part with the parliamentary party on the breaking out of the civil war, and in October, 1645, was made governor of Bristol. After the establishment of the commonwealth, he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, and had a considerable share in the victory at Worcester.

On the death of Ireton, he married his widow, and thus became the son-in-law of the protector, who appointed him commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland. In this post he acquitted himself so vigorously that Ireland was soon reduced to perfect subjection. His services were rewarded with the lord-deputyship of the subjugated territory. Notwithstanding of his relationship to the protector, and the favours he had received at his hand, Fleetwood, in conjunction with Disbrowe and Lambert, vigorously opposed the proposition for conferring on Cromwell the title of king.

On the death of Oliver Cromwell, Fleetwood joined the party who deposed Richard; and in May, 1659, was chosen one of the council of state. On the 17th of the following October, he was nominated commander-in-chief of all the forces. While the negotiations were going forward for the recall of the king, Whitelock advised Fleetwood to communicate with Charles at Breda, and thus anticipate Monk; but the remonstrances of Sir Henry Vane and Colonel Barry prevented him following this sagacious advice. After the Restoration, he retired to Stoke-Newington, where he died in 1688.

## Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

BORN A. D. 1627.—DIED A. D. 1688.

THIS brilliant but abandoned nobleman was the son of George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham, by Lady Catherine Manners. He was an infant of only one year at the time of his father's assassination by Felton.

He studied at Cambridge; and, having performed the usual continental tour, was presented at court. On the decline of the king's cause he attended Prince Charles into Scotland. After the battle of Worcester, he retired to the continent, and attached himself to the exiled court. Desirous, however, of retrieving his affairs, he came privately to England, and, in 1657, married Mary, daughter and sole heiress of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, through whose influence he recovered a considerable portion of his forfeited property. He contrived, however, to preserve his interest with the king, while thus making his peace with the parliament, for, immediately after the Restoration, we find him appointed one of the lords of the bed-chamber, and master of the horse.

In 1666 he forfeited his high offices by engaging in some very treasonable practices, the object of which seems to have been nothing less than to have thrown the whole kingdom into a state of rebellion, and to have availed himself of whatever opportunity might have presented itself during the crisis for gratifying his boundless ambition and rapacity. The detection of the plot at first highly irritated the king, who threatened to proceed to extremities against the duke. But, within less than a year after, we find him restored to his seat in the privy-council, and his offices at court. Charles was too much dependent on the ministers of his pleasures to deprive his court of the presence of one so fitted by his varied accomplishments to amuse and gratify him. But the duke's malevolence and love of intrigue suffered no abatement from his experience of the past. He is supposed, on pretty good evidence, to have been the prime instigator of Blood's atrocious attempt to put the duke of Ormond to death.<sup>1</sup> Ormond had taken an active part in exposing Buckingham's treasonable practices, and that was sufficient to excite the latter to the deadliest purposes of revenge.

A still more infamous transaction was his murder of the earl of Shrewsbury in a duel, after having debauched his countess. Malone has copied the following account of this affair from a MS. letter, dated Whitehall, 10th January, 1673-4:—"Upon Wednesday the 7th, the two houses met. In the lords' house, immediately upon his majesty's recess, the earl of Westmoreland brought in a petition against the duke of Bucks, in the name of the young earl of Shrewsbury, desiring justice against him for murdering his father, making his mother a whore, and keeping her now as an infamous strumpet. To this the duke replied—"Tis true he had had the hard fortune to kill the earl of Shrewsbury, but it was upon the greatest provocation in the world :

<sup>1</sup> See Carte's 'Life of the duke of Ormond.

that he had fought him twice before, and had as often given him his life: that he had threatened to pistol him wherever he should meet him, if he could not fight him: that for these reasons the king had given him his pardon. To the other part of the petition concerning the Lady Shrewsbury, he said he knew not how far his conversation with that lady was cognizable by that house; but if that had given offence, she was now gone to a retirement.' The whole transaction may afford some idea of the profligacy of the reign in which such a tragedy could be acted with impunity; for although a day was appointed to consider the petition, it does not appear that any thing farther was done in the business, and Buckingham continued at court, the favoured and envied of all his competitors.

In 1671, this notoriously profligate and abandoned nobleman was installed chancellor of the university of Cambridge. Soon after, he was sent on an embassy to the French court, where his manners and person fascinated the king so much that on his departure he presented him with a sword and belt, set with jewels, and valued at 40,000 pistoles.

In 1674, a change seems to have come over the whole policy of the duke. He now courted the favour of the puritan party, and set himself in sturdy opposition to the court. But about the period of Charles's death, his own health became so much affected that he was reluctantly compelled to retire into the country to recruit himself. The spot which he made choice of with this view was his own manor of Helmesley, in Yorkshire. Here he generally passed his time betwixt the sports of the chace and the pleasures of the table. An ague and fever which he caught by sitting on the ground after a long hunt, terminated his life. The attack was so sudden and violent that he could not be removed to his own house, but was conducted to a wretched village inn, where, after languishing three days, he expired, unregretted, and almost unattended. He had lived the life of a profligate, and he died the death of an outcast.

It is impossible to say any thing favourable of such a man as Villiers, whose sole aim throughout life seems to have been self-gratification, and who scrupled not to commit any crime in the pursuit of this single object. He was a wit, and his writings possess considerable merit, particularly his comedy of 'the Rehearsal.'

### Lord Jefferies.

BORN A. D. 1648.—DIED A. D. 1689.

THIS thrice infamous man was born at Acton near Wrexham, in the county of Denbigh, about the year 1648. He was the sixth son of John Jefferies, Esq. of that place. He received his education successively at the free school of Shrewsbury, at Saint Paul's, and at Westminster. At an early age he became a member of the Inner Temple, where, under the united impulses of necessity and ambition, he applied himself with extreme diligence to the study of law. It has been alleged that he was never regularly called to the bar; but that, taking advantage of the extreme confusion produced by the breaking out of the

plague in London, he threw a barrister's gown over his shoulders, and presenting himself at the Kingston assizes, was allowed, *nemine contradicente*, to commence the practice of his profession. Whether the fact was so or not, it is hardly worth while to inquire. Had no other stain attached to the memory of Jefferies but such an allegation as this, his name might have stood well with posterity; men would rather have admired the boldness and force of character which the incident displays, than esteemed it any solid ground of reproach. The arts which he seems to have early practised to obtain business, form a more serious ground of reproach. From the moment of his becoming a candidate for the public patronage, he seems to have lost sight of no artifice by which it seemed possible for him to engross favour; he fawned, truckled, stooped to a thousand meannesses, until he had so far won upon the good will of the citizens of London that, upon the 17th of March, 1670, on the resignation of Sir Richard Browne, he was appointed common sergeant. Some years after, the office of recorder becoming vacant, he solicited and obtained that appointment, through his intimacy with Chiffinch, the king's favourite page. From this point in his history, we find him devoting soul and body to the one great object of gaining favour at court.

In 1680, he was made a Welsh judge. In 1681, he was created a baronet, having previously succeeded Sir Job Charlton as chief-justice of Chester, or rather compelled Sir Job to vacate his seat for him, and to accept of the seat of a puisne judge in the common pleas. In his office of recorder, it was Sir George's duty, as crown counsel, to conduct a number of the prosecutions arising out of the pretended Popish plot. At first, he exhibited considerable leniency towards the accused, but latterly he conducted himself with a harshness and brutality, set at defiance every principle of justice, and shocked and disgusted the spectators. Perhaps he had really wrought himself up into a conviction of the guilt of the prisoners, but, granting it were even so, his conduct was utterly unjustifiable, for it set at nought every maxim of executive jurisprudence. Nor was he content with urging the conviction of the parties at the bar; he seized the opportunity, which his frequent addresses to the court afforded him, of inculcating many highly unconstitutional doctrines, and that with the view of ingratiating himself still further with the court. At last, the resentment of the commons was roused against this creature of the government, and an address was moved and ordered, praying for the removal of Sir George Jefferies from all public offices. Jefferies trembled for the result, and submitted to receive a reprimand on his knees at the bar of the house. He also immediately resigned his office of recorder. Yet he continued the same abject and heartless creature of the court that he had formerly proved himself to be. In the trials of Fitzharris, and of Plunket, Colledge, and others, he displayed the greatest acrimony and violence. But it was in the prosecutions which followed the discovery of the Rye-house plot that his true character revealed itself in the most palpable and decided manner. He did such good service to the government on this occasion, and especially on the trial of Lord John Russell, that it was impossible to overlook his unrivalled fitness for the highest judicial station. On the death of Sir Edmund Saunders, chief-justice of the king's bench, Jefferies was named to the vacant



office. Soon afterwards he was sworn in as a member of the privy-council. Finally, on the 15th of May, 1685, he was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Jefferies of Wem.

The trial of Algernon Sydney afforded Jefferies another signal opportunity of gratifying his patron at the small expense of truth, honour, justice, and the blood of a fellow-creature. And yet it is astonishing with what toolness of mind he seems to have looked back upon these deeds of his. Thus, in his summing up on the trial of Sir S. Barnardiston, we find him indulging in the following language:—"Then here is, as I said, the sainting of two horrid conspirators! Here is the Lord Russell sainted, that blessed martyr; my Lord Russell, that good man, that excellent protestant! he is lamented, and what an extraordinary man he was, who was fairly tried and justly convicted, and attainted for having a hand in this horrid conspiracy against the life of the king, and his dearest brother, his royal highness, and for the subversion of the government. And here is Mr Sydney sainted! What an extraordinary man he was! Yes, surely, he was a very good man, because you may some of you remember, or have read the history of those times, and know what share Mr Sydney had in that black and horrid villany, that cursed treason and murder—the murder, I mean, of King Charles I., of blessed memory; a shame to religion itself, a perpetual reproach to the island we live in, to think that a prince should be brought, by pretended methods of law and justice, to such an end at his own palace. And it is a shame to think that such bloody miscreants should be sainted and lamented, who had any hand in that horrid murder and treason, and who, to their dying moments, when they were upon the brink of eternity, and just stepping into another world, could confidently bless God for their being engaged in that good cause, as they call it, which was the rebellion which brought that blessed martyr to his death. It is high time for all mankind that have any Christianity, or sense of heaven or hell, to bestir themselves, to rid the nation of such caterpillars, such monsters of villany as these are."<sup>1</sup>

Jefferies was of course bound to hate the presbyterians with as thorough a hatred as his royal master. The trial of Baxter for what was called a seditious libel, afforded him a good opportunity for displaying his anti-presbyterian principles. How well he improved it, and with what success, may be seen in our sketch of his illustrious victim. Monmouth's rebellion occasioned the despatch of Jefferies to the west, not only with a commission of oyer and terminer, but with a military commission as general of the west. Thus invested with full civil and military powers, Jefferies marked his progress with blood. No considerations of humanity or justice seem ever to have been present to his mind. He sought only to extirpate all to whom even the suspicion of political disaffection attached. At last, to use the words of Mr Roscoe, "stained with the blood of the aged, the weak, and the defenceless, Jefferies returned to the capital, to claim from the hands of the master he had so faithfully and acceptably served, the reward due to his singular merits. That reward was immediately conferred upon him; on the 28th of September he received the great seal, and was appointed lord-high-chancellor."

<sup>1</sup> State Trials, vol. ix. p. 1353.

It would appear, that Jefferies was scarcely seated on the wool-sack, before his influence began to wane at court. "I am very confident," says a letter-writer in the Ellis correspondence, "that matters are brewing to break the neck of our wide-mouthed, high paced —, &c.; and as conjurors throw a dog or a cat to allay the devil with, so he may be thrown as a choosing morsel to the next parliament." The 'dog,' however, was resolved to shun his fate, if he could, by another piece of villany. By the advice of his chancellor, James resorted to the infatuated step of establishing an ecclesiastical commission, in which Jefferies bore himself so arrogantly, and with such outrageous violation of the most ordinary principles of justice, that the whole kingdom was thrown into a flame. At last the prince of Orange landed, and James fled from London. Jefferies, aware that for him at least no hope of mercy remained, hastened to follow his master's example. The following narrative of his abortive attempt at escape is taken from 'The Lives of the Chancellors':—"The chancellor, now without protection, having rendered himself obnoxious to most people, and being perfectly hated by the nation, on Monday, between three and four in the morning, withdrew, and having in disguise got down safe to Wapping, put himself on board a collier, which was pretended to be bound for Newcastle, but indeed was designed for Hamburgh; but some persons having notice thereof, by means of the mate, they went to a justice for a warrant to apprehend him; but he thought fit to put them off, whereupon they applied themselves forthwith to the lords of the council, who granted them a warrant, and they went immediately to search the ship. But he, on Tuesday night, not thinking himself safe on board the collier in which he was to pass, lay in another ship hard by, so that those who came that day to search for him missed of him on board, but had information given them that he was hard by at a little peddling alehouse, where accordingly they found him, being the sign of the Red Cow, in Anchor and Hope Alley, near King Edward's Stairs, from whence they immediately hurried him in a coach, guarded with several blunderbusses, to the lord mayor's; where the crowd was so great, and the rabble so numerous, all crying out together, Vengeance! Justice! Justice! that the lord mayor was forced to come out into his balcony, with his hat in his hand, and to desire the people to go away and keep peace, and did promise them that he had already sent to the lords of the council about the matter, and that they should have justice done them, and that in the mean time their prisoner should be safely guarded. Whereupon the people withdrew, and soon after my lord, under a strong guard, was sent to the lords of the council, who committed him to the Tower, where he continued to the 18th of April, 1689, when he was freed by death from his earthly confinement. He had for some years before been subject to terrible fits of the stone, which in all probability now accelerated his death, though others gave out he abandoned himself to excessive drinking, thinking to support his sinking spirits by it, and that that helped forward to put a period to his life. He was buried privately in the Tower the Sunday night following, by an order his relations got from King William." Burnet adds to his account of the capture of Jefferies, that "the lord mayor was so struck with the terror of the rude populace, and with the disgrace of a man who had

made all people tremble before him, that he fell into fits, of which he died soon after."

It is indeed difficult, as Mr Roscoe observes, to form a cool and impartial opinion of the character of Jefferies. We cannot detect the real lineaments of the man through the blaze of villany in which he appears enveloped throughout the whole of his life. We shall not attempt to analyse his moral character, but rest satisfied with the conviction that moral principle never guided any single action of his life. As to his professional abilities, we are not quite so sure that these were a nonentity. He seems not to have been deficient in legal knowledge, and to have possessed some talents as a speaker. Of his personal character, Roger North has bequeathed us the following sketch:—"His friendship and conversation lay much amongst the good fellows and humorists, and his delights were accordingly drinking, laughing, singing, kissing, and all the extravagancies of the bottle. He had a set of banterers for the most part near him, as, in old times, great men kept fools to make them merry, and these fellows, abusing one another and their betters, were a regale to him; and no friendship or dearness could be so great in private, which he could not use ill, and to an extravagant degree, in public. No one that had any expectations from him was safe from his public contempt and derision, which some of his minions at the bar bitterly felt. Those above, and that could hurt or benefit him, and none else, might depend on fair quarter at his hands. When he was in temper, and matters indifferent came before him, he became his seat of justice better than any other I ever saw in his place. He took a pleasure in mortifying fraudulent attorneys, and would deal forth his severities with a sort of majesty. He had extraordinary natural abilities, but little acquired, beyond what practice in affairs had supplied. He talked fluently and with spirit; and his weakness was, that he could not reprehend without scolding, and in such Billingsgate language as should not come out of the mouth of any man. He called it 'giving a lick with the rough side of his tongue.' It was ordinary to hear him say, 'Go, you are a filthy, lousy, nitty rascal!' with much more of like elegance. Scarce a day passed that he did not chide some one or other of the bar, when he sate in the chancery, and it was commonly a lecture of a quarter of an hour long. And they used to say, 'This is yours; my turn will be to-morrow.' He seemed to lay nothing of his business to heart, nor care what he did, nor what he left undone, and spent in the chancery court what time he thought fit to spare. Many times on days of causes at his house, the company have waited five hours in a morning, and after eleven he hath come out inflamed, and staring like one distracted, and that visage he put on when he animadverted on such as he took offence at, which made him a terror to real offenders, whom also he terrified with his face and voice, as if the thunder of the day of judgment broke over their heads, and nothing ever made men tremble like his vocal inflictions. He loved to insult, and was bold without check, but that only was when his place was uppermost. To give an instance: A city attorney was petitioned against for some abuse, and affidavit was made that, when he was told of my lord-chancellor, 'My lord-chancellor!' said he, 'I made him!' meaning his being a means to bring him early into city business. When

this affidavit was read, 'Well,' said the lord-chancellor, 'then I will lay my maker by the heels,' and with that conceit one of his best old friends went to jail. One of these intemperances was fatal to him. There was a scrivener of Wapping brought to hearing for relief against a bummery bond: the contingency of losing all being shown, the bill was going to be dismissed; but one of the plaintiff's counsel said that he was a strange fellow, and sometimes went to church, sometimes to conventicles, and none could tell what to make of him, and it was thought he was a *trimmer*. At that the chancellor fired: 'A trimmer!' said he; 'I have heard much of that monster, but never saw one. Come forth, Mr Trimmer! turn you round, and let us see your shape!' and at that rate talked so long, that the poor fellow was ready to drop under him; but at last the bill was dismissed with costs, and he went his way. In the hall, one of his friends asked him how he came off. 'Came off!' said he; 'I am escaped from the terrors of that man's face, which I would scarcely undergo again to save my life; and I shall certainly have the frightful impression of it as long as I live.' Afterwards, when the prince of Orange came, and all was in confusion, this lord-chancellor, being very obnoxious, disguised himself, in order to go beyond sea: he was in a seaman's garb, and drinking a pot in a cellar. This scrivener came into the cellar after some of his clients, and his eye caught that face, which made him start; and the chancellor, seeing himself eyed, feigned a cough, and turned to the wall with his pot in his hand; but Mr Trimmer went out and gave notice that he was there, whereupon the mob flowed in, and he was in extreme hazard of his life; but the lord-mayor saved him, and lost himself. For the chancellor being hurried, with such crowd and noise, before him, and appearing so dismally, not only disguised but disordered, and there having been an amity betwixt them, as also a veneration on the lord-mayor's part, he had not spirit to sustain the shock, but fell down in a swoon, and not many hours after died."

If the reader think we have dealt somewhat hardly, in the present instance, with our man, we beg to recommend to his special consideration the following remarks of Mr Henry Roscoe, which we conceive to be not less just in sentiment than forcible and elegant in expression:—"The ease with which those who are conversant with courts of justice learn to disregard the sufferings of others, and the faculty, which too often follows, of turning those sufferings into ridicule, are but modifications of those brutal qualities which in Jefferies appeared in their full perfection. It may perhaps tend, in some degree, to prevent the growth of those callous and inhuman feelings, to observe them in the odiousness of their complete developement, and to remark the execration and abhorrence which they never fail to excite in every heart of common sensibility. It is a salutary lesson to see the memory of Jefferies descending to posterity darkened with the indignant reproaches of each succeeding age, and weighed down by an ever-increasing weight of infamy. To affix to his polluted name an additional stigma, to brand his dishonoured memory with a fresh mark of reprobation, is an office grateful to humanity."

## Edmund Ludlow.

BORN A. D. 1621.—DIED A. D. 1693.

EDMUND LUDLOW, one of the firmest and most straightforward republicans of the commonwealth, was the son of Sir Henry Ludlow, a gentleman of ancient family and large fortune in Wiltshire. The family being held in great esteem, enjoyed the honour of having its members frequently chosen to represent the county of Wilts in parliament; and Sir Henry appears to have deserved the confidence of his fellow-countrymen as an assertor of their rights against the attacks of arbitrary power. His son, Edmund, was born at Maiden-Bradley in the year 1620; and after taking the degree of bachelor of arts, in 1636, at Trinity college, Cambridge, he removed to the Temple, where he was studying the law at the breaking out of the civil war. His father was, at the same time, one of the popular members of the long parliament, and his example and encouragement increased the ardour of his son in the maintenance of the same principles. Young Ludlow accordingly took up arms—having previously along with Richard Fynes, son of Lord Say, and Charles Fleetwood, son of Sir Miles Fleetwood, endeavoured to assemble together as many as possible of the gentlemen of the inns of court for the same purpose—and was entered one of the life-guard raised for the earl of Essex, the parliamentary general. In this capacity he followed Essex to Worcester, and was present at the battle of Edgehill. When Sir Edward Hungerford was appointed by the parliament to the command of some forces in Wiltshire, Ludlow accompanied him; and having been instrumental in raising a troop of horse, was appointed governor of Warder castle, which, when invested by some of the king's forces, he defended as long as the weakness of the fortifications would permit.

While Ludlow was lying in Warder castle, his father died; an event probably hastened by his constant labours in the public service, and by his affliction for the death of another son, Captain Robert Ludlow, who, having been taken prisoner by the king's troops, had sunk under the effects of harsh usage. When forced to surrender Warder castle, in 1644, Ludlow and the rest of the garrison were carried to Oxford as prisoners of war; but after about three weeks' confinement, he and several others were exchanged; and arriving next day at London, he obtained, through the earl of Essex, an exchange for the whole of the garrison. He was then appointed sheriff of Wilts by the parliament, and went as major of Sir Arthur Hazlerig's regiment of horse in the army under Sir William Waller, whom he accompanied when he went to blockade Oxford. After retiring into Wiltshire, and being engaged in raising men for the service of the parliament, he again joined Waller's army, and was present at the second battle of Newbury. On the general remodelling of the army, in consequence of the self-denying ordinance, the committee would have named him to the command of a regiment, but that purpose was defeated by a combination of persons anxious for his removal, as a person not to be depended upon for the prosecution of factious views.

He was not, however, long destitute of employment in the public service, for about this time a writ having been issued for the election of two members for the county of Wilts in the room of his father, and of Sir John Thynne, who had gone over to the king, he was elected, amongst with the second son of the earl of Pembroke. The jealousy of the presbyterian and independent parties had already weakened the influence of the parliament, and opened the way to the success of the ambitious plans which Cromwell had now began to entertain. Though Ludlow suspected the designs of the future protector, yet being attached to the independent and republican party, he was one of the members who went down to the army, and with their assistance excluded the leading members of the presbyterian party from the house, thereby encouraging the lawless measures which the leaders of the army carried into effect against the whole parliament, when it suited their designs to throw off even the appearance of submission. But Ludlow became every day more jealous of the purposes of Cromwell and his followers. He tells us that he was the only member of the house who opposed the vote of thanks to Cromwell for putting down the agitators in the army; and some time afterwards, he was sent down to Windsor to procure the release of some of the levellers who had been imprisoned. He was equally averse to any treaty with the king, and when there appeared to be a prospect of the parliament agreeing to one in 1648, he went down to Fairfax and Ireton, then at the siege of Colchester, to secure their co-operation against any such attempt. The army was ready enough of itself to adopt such a line of conduct, as was testified by their famous remonstrance, presented to the parliament, 20th Nov., 1648; and when the parliament were ready to close with the king's proposals, Ludlow was one of those who advised the forcible exclusion of certain members—a measure known by the name of Colonel Pride's purge—and was present when guards were placed in Westminster-hall, the court of requests, and the lobby of the house, that none might be permitted to pass into it but such as were known to be hostile to any treaty with the king. Such interferences with the legislative authority were of dangerous example; but in the politics of those unsettled times, the best friends of liberty were led to the adoption of measures which cannot be reconciled with the ideas of a more peaceful age.

Convinced of the necessity and the justice of executing Charles, Ludlow approved of and took part in the proceedings of the high court of justice, of which he was a member; and after the death of the king, was chosen one of the five persons to whom was committed the selection of the council of state. When chosen, Ludlow and his four colleagues were added to it by the house. When Cromwell went on his expedition against the Scots, Ludlow was, on his recommendation, sent over under Ireton to Ireland, as lieutenant-general of the horse; and was, at the same time, appointed one of the commissioners for the administration of civil affairs in that island. He was present at the siege of Limerick, and assisted in reducing various places in the counties of Clare, Wicklow, Galway, Fermanagh, and elsewhere. On the death of Ireton, the commissioners of parliament issued a letter to the officers of the forces in Ireland, requiring them to yield obedience to Lieutenant-general Ludlow, as next in command to the late deputy.

But this appointment being by no means pleasing to Cromwell, Ludlow was soon afterwards superseded by Fleetwood, who went over invested with the chief authority under the title of lieutenant-general. When Cromwell finally dissolved the long parliament, Ludlow without hesitation expressed disapprobation of his conduct; and used his utmost efforts to oppose the protector's usurpation. He succeeded in preventing the proclamation of Cromwell in Dublin for a fortnight; but that measure being at last resolved upon by the council on the casting vote of a Mr Roberts, the auditor-general, he positively refused to sign the order, or to be present at the ceremony. From this time he refused to act any longer in his civil capacity of commissioner of the parliament, though he continued to exercise his military office; and he refused to countenance the proposal that Cromwell and his council should nominate the thirty Irish members, who were to sit in the parliament at Westminster in virtue of Cromwell's instrument of government; a proposal made under the apprehension, that with any thing like a free election, only enemies of the English interest would be returned.

As might have been expected, Ludlow's conduct excited the protector's fears, which, in conjunction with the fact of his having circulated some copies of the army-petition to Cromwell, led to his being deprived of his command. He would not, however, deliver up his commission to any other authority than that of the parliament, and desired leave to return to England, which he could not obtain. After a good deal of negotiation, it was at last settled that he should be allowed to go, on giving his word to appear before Cromwell, and not to act against him in the meantime. But his departure was delayed by Fleetwood, under various pretences, till Henry Cromwell came over, when Ludlow, wearied out by the delay, and having the passport of Fleetwood, went on board the ship of war which had been ordered to convey him to England, and set sail neither with the permission, nor against the order of the new governor.

On reaching Beaumaris, however, he found one Captain Shaw, who had been despatched by Cromwell and the rest of the council, with an order to detain him there till the protector's pleasure should be known. He was detained, accordingly, for no less than six weeks, but was at last allowed to proceed to London, under an engagement to do nothing against the existing government before surrendering himself a prisoner at Whitehall. There he had an interview with the protector himself (Dec. 1655), but he could not be persuaded to grant an absolute engagement not to act against him. When Cromwell called his second parliament, he was again summoned before the council, with several other patriots, and another unsuccessful attempt was made to get from him such an obligation. Upon his refusal he was ordered into custody, but was allowed to remain in his own lodgings; and was afterwards permitted to go down to Essex with his wife, and father and mother-in-law, where he spent the summer. At the general election, however, notwithstanding the illegal interference of the major-general of the county, he was proposed as a candidate, and supported by a large body of the freeholders of Wiltshire. He was elected to the parliament called after the death of the protector, where he sat for some time without taking the oath required of every member not to contrive

any thing against the authority of the new protector ; but being at last perceived, and it being proposed that the oath should be put to him, a debate arose, though the question was evaded by the discovery of a person in the house who had not been elected at all, and against whom the indignation of the members was immediately directed. In this parliament, Ludlow continued a steady adherent of the commonwealth party, whose hopes had again been raised by the death of Oliver, and the dissensions which had arisen in the army between the Wallingford-house party and that of Richard Cromwell. Ludlow took an active share in the negotiations between the former faction and the republicans, which ended in the resignation of Richard Cromwell, and the restitution of the long parliament.

When the long parliament was revived, Ludlow took his seat as one of the members, elated by the aspect of public affairs, and the renovation of a body whose power had been too openly disregarded ever to be permanently restored. He was, at the same time, appointed to the command of a regiment, which he accepted, as he saw the necessity of the republicans having influence in the army, to control the Wallingford-house party, which, from the first, displayed symptoms of disaffection to the cause of the commonwealth. He was also appointed one of the 21 members of parliament chosen to compose the council of state ; and was named one of the commissioners for the nomination of officers to be approved of by the parliament. Meanwhile, the Wallingford-house party, dissatisfied with many of the proceedings adopted, drew up an address to the house embodying their wishes, some of which were very reasonable. By supporting some of the views contained in this address, Ludlow was unjustly accused of espousing the interests of the army against the parliament. Having been appointed commander of the forces in Ireland, he took the employment only under the condition that when he had restored that country to tranquillity, he should be at liberty to return to England. He remained, however, for some time in London, busily engaged in the schemes of that feverish time, but always acting an honest part, and supporting those proposals which were most likely to secure the establishment of a free and equal commonwealth, and exerting himself to remove the jealousies between the parliament and the army, as the only means of keeping down the common enemy. His conduct in Ireland was regulated by the same motive ; he endeavoured to promote union, and, by new-modelling the army, to advance those who he thought had given the best proofs of their affection to the public interest. But affairs in England becoming every day more unsettled, he imagined that his services there might be of importance, and accordingly hastened his departure. On his arrival at Beaumaris, he found to his dismay, that the army had again controlled the parliament, and assumed the power into its own hands. And this account being confirmed on his arrival at Chester, he exhorted the troops to remain faithful to the parliament, and pursued his journey to London without delay.

On his arrival in London, Fleetwood endeavoured to persuade him to attend the meetings of the council of officers, but he desired to be excused from intermeddling in their consultations. He now began to think all the time lost that he had spent in endeavouring to unite so many broken and divided councils, but he consented to act for the officers in



Ireland, at the general council of officers, (two being chosen from each regiment, with the exception of those in Monk's army,) which was held in the hope of coming to some agreement. Several days were spent in debate upon the form of government to be adopted, during which the restitution of the parliament was warmly advocated by Ludlow. Disappointed in his hopes of a reconciliation between the contending parties, he resolved to return to Ireland: but, before leaving London, he had the satisfaction of learning the intention of the officers again to call together the long parliament. In Ireland, however, he met with a gloomy enough reception. He could not land at Dublin, as he found that a party of horse had been sent down to his house to seize him; and though received with great demonstrations of joy at Duncannon, he was immediately blockaded there by Captain Scot, who had been despatched by the council to notice the place which had thus admitted him to submission. The council, at the same time, circulated a letter justifying their conduct, and full of unfounded accusations against the lieutenant-general. He had scarcely drawn up an answer to this letter, when he heard to his astonishment, that the parliament had thanked the officers in Dublin for what they had done; and, within a week, the same persons sent him a letter, signed by the speaker, and desiring his attendance in parliament to give an account of the state of affairs in Ireland. These letters satisfied him that the parliament was in a state of complete dependence; but he resolved on immediately obeying their commands,—a resolution in which he was still further confirmed on hearing that they had received a charge of high treason against him, as well as Mr Miles Corbet, Colonel Jones, and Colonel Thomlinson. Ludlow's whole conduct disproved the charge made against him, of assisting the army in England, and doing acts of hostility, by sea and land, against those in Ireland who had declared for the parliament; yet, on moving the house to hear him in his justification, all he could obtain was to have a day appointed for that purpose, which was afterwards several times delayed, till the dissipation, as he expresses it, of those who should have been his judges.

The arrival of Monk in London at first excited the expectations of the commonwealth party, but his ambiguous conduct soon raised their suspicions. The restoration of the secluded members satisfied them that he was hostile to the continuance of their authority, which was finally extinguished by the passing of the act for the dissolution of the long parliament, and the calling together of a new one. To this, the convention parliament, Ludlow was returned as one of the members for the burgh of Hindon. He took his seat in the house the day that the commissioners whom the parliament had resolved to send to the king at Breda were to be nominated; but he would have nothing to do with the matter. In the afternoon of the same day, he sat in the committee on elections; and, on another day, he went with the house to hear a sermon. He did not appear again, as a resolution had passed to seize the persons of all who had signed the warrant for the execution of the late king, and he even found it necessary to consult his safety by frequently changing the place of his abode, from one of which he had the mortification of witnessing the entry of Charles II. into the city. He had now some difficulty in determining whether he should take advantage of the proclamation requiring the surrender of the late king's

judges; but he had no confidence either in the justice or humanity of the person who had now the power in his hands. He had, besides, more than once been nearly inserted as one of the seven excepted persons from the bill of indemnity. But having the assurance of Sir Harbottle Grimston, the speaker, Rothes, and other leading men among the commons, that the house would never agree to except any one who had surrendered himself under the proclamation, he went to the speaker's chambers, who not being there, he then went to the house of the sergeant-at-arms, where Mr Herbert, a member of the convention, gave his word for his appearance, till he could obtain personal security; which he got in a few days. The disposition of the house of lords, however, to execute all those who had participated in the execution of Charles; the arrest of Sir Harry Vane, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, and the marquess of Argyle, and a threatened motion in the house, that all the prisoners should be sent to the Tower, justly alarmed his friends, who insisted upon his removing from his house, in case a search for him should be made. He accordingly resolved to appear no more in public; and went down to Richmond. The advice of another friend induced him to resolve upon departing from England, in which resolution he was confirmed by Lord Ossory, who concurred in the same advice. He accordingly left London at the close of the day, and, avoiding all the considerable towns on the road, reached Lewes next morning. He there found a small vessel prepared for him; but the wind blowing hard, and the vessel having no deck, he removed into another till he might put to sea. After he had entered it, the searchers came on board the vessel he had left to see what she carried, but omitted to search that in which he was, not suspecting any person to be in her, as she had struck on the sands. He continued in the harbour that day and the next night, the storm still continuing; but on the following morning they set sail, and had so favourable a passage, that they arrived in Dieppe the same evening.

A proclamation being published soon after his departure, offering a reward of £300 for apprehending and securing his person, Ludlow was advised by his friends to provide for his safety by removing to a greater distance from England. He finally settled at Vevay, in Switzerland, where he remained till the Revolution in 1688, having several times narrowly escaped assassination by the emissaries of the Stuarts. His unmerited misfortunes, and the purity of his life, obtained for him universal sympathy from those amongst whom he resided. At the Revolution he returned to England; but, in consequence of a motion in the house of commons to address the king for his apprehension, he found it necessary to return to Vevay, where he died in 1693. His last wishes were for the prosperity of his native country. He left memoirs of himself which contain much curious information as to the motives of those with whom he associated; and prove him—which his whole conduct indeed testifies—to have been a man who, if he did not possess extraordinary political sagacity, was actuated by the noblest and most patriotic motives; having been, on all occasions, an honest advocate of republican equality.

## Saville, Marquess of Halifax.

BORN A. D. 1630.—DIED A. D. 1695.

SIR GEORGE SAVILLE, son of Sir William Saville, baronet, and Anne, daughter of Lord Coventry, was born in 1630. His activity in promoting the Restoration was rewarded by his elevation to the peerage; and in 1672 he was called to a seat in the privy council.

His opposition to the Danby administration cost him his seat in council, in 1676; but, upon the change of ministry, in 1679, he was made a member of the new council. On the agitation of the bill for the exclusion of the duke of York from the succession, Halifax opposed the projected measure, but suggested certain limitations of the duke's authority, in the event of the crown devolving upon him, which he conceived would effectually protect the interests of the protestant cause. At this period he professed his extreme dread of turning the monarchy into an elective government, and contended warmly for the principle of hereditary succession; but, in all this, we can hardly believe him to have been sincere, for he had often expressed his contempt of the hereditary principle, and had been heard to inquire, "Who takes a coachman to drive him, because his father was a good coachman?" When the bill came to be debated, Halifax conducted the debate against it, on which occasion he displayed great eloquence, and considerable powers of mind. "He was animated," says Hume, "as well by the greatness of the occasion as by a rivalry with his uncle, Shaftesbury, whom, during that day's debate, he seemed, in the judgment of all, to have totally eclipsed." When the bill was thrown out, the indignant commons immediately voted an address for the removal of Halifax, Clarendon, Worcester, and some others, from his majesty's person and councils for ever. The parties pointed at in this address met it by urging an instant dissolution of the refractory house, and Charles followed this advice.

In August, 1682, Saville was created a marquess; and soon after he was made lord-privy-seal. On King James's accession, he was appointed president of the council; but on refusing his consent to the repeal of the tests, he was dismissed from all public employments. In the negotiations which preceded the arrival of the prince of Orange, Halifax did not act a very conspicuous part; he hesitated and trimmed too much; but in the convention parliament he was chosen speaker of the house of lords, and strenuously supported the motion for declaring the throne vacant.

On the accession of the prince and princess of Orange, the privy seal was once more intrusted to him; but, upon inquiry being instituted into the prosecutions of Russell, Sydney, and others, he withdrew from court, and flung himself into the ranks of the opposition. He died in April, 1695.

There is little to admire in the character of this statesman. It wants consistency throughout. His abilities will hardly be questioned; but in their exercise he seems to have been as little swayed by considerations of public welfare, as any of the band of heartless politicians to whom Charles and James intrusted the character of their government. Halifax was the author of some tracts, which were published after his death. He also left memoirs of his own time, which have perished.

## Sir William Temple.

BORN A. D. 1629.—DIED A. D. 1698.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE was the son of Sir John Temple, master of the rolls, and privy-councillor in Ireland, in the reign of Charles II., and the grandson of the first Sir William Temple, secretary to the earl of Essex in the reign of Elizabeth. His father, early perceiving an eager thirst for knowledge, and indications of considerable strength of mind, used every means to promote these symptoms; consequently his advance in knowledge was rapid but sure. Having passed through the usual course of education, and acquired, in addition, an intimate acquaintance with the French and Spanish languages—which, at that time, were the most useful and important to a person of his station—he spent two years at Paris, and soon after made a tour through Holland, Flanders, and Germany, on his return from which, in 1654, he was united to the daughter of Sir Peter Osborne, governor of Jersey for Charles I., by which lady he had several children.

All offers of employment were rejected under the protector, but at the Restoration, in 1660, he quitted this privacy, and became a member of the convention in Ireland. Here, whilst others were by their pliant obsequiousness making assiduous court to the king, Sir William Temple exhibited a noble spirit of independence by his sturdy opposition to the Poll-bill, and his honourable refusal to listen to those who were sent to reason with him privately, and, if possible, divert him from his course of opposition. He declared, however, in reference to the bill, “that he would have nothing to say to it out of the house.” In the succeeding parliament, he was chosen with his father, Sir John Temple, for the county of Carlow, when, by the acuteness of his judgment, his upright independence, and by his not permitting himself to be identified with any party, he acquired much influence in the house. The grand events of his political life were two important treaties which were committed to his charge, and which he accomplished with most masterly skill. The first of these was his astonishingly judicious, and dexterous bringing about of the triple league between England, Holland, and Sweden, at the latter end of 1665. This treaty, so effective in diminishing the threatening power of France, so important to the peace of Europe, was managed with a secrecy so uncommon, with success so unexpected, that the great statesman, De Wit, could not help complimenting him “with having the honour, which never any other minister had before him, of drawing the States to a resolution and conclusion in five days, upon a matter of the greatest importance, and an assistance of the greatest expence they had ever been engaged in; and all directly against the nature of their constitution, which enjoined them to have recourse to their provinces;” adding, that now it was done, it looked like a miracle.

The other treaty terminating in the marriage of the then prince of Orange to the lady Mary, daughter of the duke of York, and niece to his majesty, was far more durable in its nature and beneficial in its consequences, both to the security of the Protestant religion, and the

general happiness of the British kingdoms. The several gradations in the progress of this were accomplished principally by Sir William Temple, whose secrecy and dexterity brought it to maturity, and effected its completion in the year 1677, even contrary to the will of the duke, and not very much to the inclination of the king. The work in itself was one of so much delicacy and difficulty, that it appears as if the slightest variation from the actual course of time and circumstances would have inevitably destroyed all hopes of success. Towards the conclusion, he used the assistance of the lord-treasurer Danby, afterwards duke of Leeds, who saw so much importance and happiness to the public connected with the result, that he afterwards declared in print, that he would not suffer that part of his services to be buried in oblivion.

Sir William Temple's freedom from ambition was evinced by his resolute opposition to the desire of his friends that he would permit them to request a peerage for him. He had, however, much difficulty in dissuading them, and was resolved, if the offer were made him, that the nobility should commence with either his father or his son, himself being anxious rather to avoid than possess such distinction. And much does it redound to his honour, that he with noble generosity refused in the year 1669 to assist in the undermining that work of peace and amity which he had, a few years previously, laboured so hard, and with success so distinguished, to establish. He felt that the obligations of his office bound him to what he clearly perceived to be the welfare of his country, and Europe at large, and not to the vacillating expediency of private interests: nor would he sacrifice his own approbation to secure that of his superiors. The usage he received on this account from the lord-treasurer, Clifford, was most unworthy and shameful; he was refused the payment of an arrear of two thousand pounds, due on his embassy. Disgusted by this, and the sudden extinction of Lord Arlington's friendship, an effect of the same cause, he retired to his house at Sheen, near Richmond, in Surrey, and devoted himself for a few years to the preparation of works. In this interval he published his 'Observations upon the United Provinces,' and wrote the first part of his *Miscellanies*, which, with his other works, will be noticed presently. Meanwhile, the king preserved a neutrality, neither exerting propitiously his power, nor, on the other hand, showing any unkindness or hostility. It appears, indeed, from Sir William's letters, that the king made him a present of the plate belonging to his embassy, and disposed of his house on the continent, and the major part of his furniture to his successor, Sir George Downing. When, however, Charles grew weary of the war which ensued, he remembered Sir William Temple, and relying upon his willingness to act as the minister of peace, sent for him to go to Holland, and effect a treaty of peace. By the Spanish ambassador receiving proper powers, the journey to Holland was rendered unnecessary, and the treaty was concluded at home, in three days. In June, 1674, he was again sent ambassador into Holland, with offer of the king's mediation between France and the confederates, then at war, an offer which was not long after accepted; and Lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Leoline Jenkins were declared ambassadors and mediators, and Nimeguen fixed upon as the place of treaty. During this stay at the Hague commenced the inti-

macy with the prince of Orange, which led to the matrimonial contract above alluded to, and gave rise to an occurrence which Sir William ever regarded as one of the happiest of his life. One day, when the prince happened to be absent, five Englishmen were seized and brought to the Hague, and immediately tried and condemned for deserting their colours. Some of Sir William Temple's servants had the curiosity to visit the unfortunate prisoners, and came home horror-struck by the conviction that their countrymen were about to be slaughtered for an offence of which they were not guilty, and that innocent as they were, there was no shield to interpose between them and the too certain instrument of death. The earth was already opened to receive their bodies, and the next day's noon would find them numbered with the dead. Impelled at once with sympathy and terror, the servants besought their master to exert himself, and avert, if possible, the unjust doom to which these persons were consigned. Sir William omitted no effort of entreaty, but the lives of a few private and humble individuals, when weighed in the balance against the infallibility of a public judicial body, were made to kick the beam; their sentence could not be retracted; the evidence had been deemed conclusive; the men must die. One hope still remained, that that which their humanity denied might possibly be extorted from their fears. Sir William sent then to the officers with a threat that he would appeal to the prince and to the king, who would demand reparation, or rather wreak vengeance, if so many of his majesty's subjects were subjected to punishment so unjust. But even this succeeded no farther than to obtain a reprieve for a single day, in the course of which time Sir William managed to communicate with the prince, and procured the liberation of the prisoners. The feelings of the men carried them first, naturally enough, to visit the fresh-dug graves, whose mouths still yawned, expecting their bodies; then with a mingled sentiment of horror and gratitude, to cast themselves at the feet of Sir William Temple, and on their knees pour forth their thankfulness. It will easily be believed that in the retrospect of bygone years, Sir William must have felt, as he declared, this to have been the brightest, most joyous moment.

In the spring of the year 1678, Sir William Temple was called home to succeed Mr Coventry in the office of secretary of state, but though the offer of the secretaryship was at his request withdrawn for a time, he did not return to Nimeguen that year. About this time occurred the marriage of the prince of Orange to the lady Mary; in allusion to which, Lord Arlington, rather ill-humouredly, remarked, that "some things were so ill in themselves that the manner of doing them could not mend them; and others so good that the manner they were done in could not spoil them; and that the prince of Orange's match was one of the last sort." The source of Lord Arlington's coldness to Sir William Temple is to be found in the early acquaintance of the former with the lord-treasurer, Danby; they had travelled together when young; they were related by marriage; Danby was now prime minister in Arlington's room: since then Danby and Temple were at difference with each other, it was impossible for Arlington to be the friend, and retain the good will of both. Hence the rupture between Temple and Arlington, which after occurrences tended to widen rather than close up.

The king would have engaged Sir William Temple in some negotiations with the crown of France, for which he was so little disposed that he requested the lord-treasurer to acquaint his majesty with his wish to retire altogether, offering to resign all pretensions to the post of secretary of state, which had been in abeyance in consequence of some difficulties originating in Mr Coventry. But when it was discovered that the French intended not to evacuate the Spanish towns, according to the stipulations of the treaty, the king commanded Sir William to act a third time as ambassador to the States, in which capacity he again visited Holland, and concluded a treaty, by which England was engaged, if those towns were not evacuated in forty days, to declare immediate war with France ; but before the expiration of half the time, one Du Cross was sent from our court to Holland, on a mission which damped the good humour that treaty had produced, and destroyed the life and activity with which affairs were then moving. Sir William Temple had seen too much of the baseness of courts to be much astonished, but the frequency and suddenness of the changes of purpose in our court disgusted and wearied him of all public employment.

On Mr Coventry's resignation, he was sent for to enter upon the duties of secretary, but still unwilling to accept the appointment, he assigned as an objection the fact of his not being a member of parliament ; from which, the times being so critical, he thought public business would suffer. Lord Danby's imprisonment by the parliament, left the king without a councillor in whom he could confide ; he was therefore the more urgent in pressing Sir William, for whom he entertained a high esteem, to accept the secretaryship. But Sir William having already suffered much annoyance and trouble incident to a public life, aware of the prevailing discontent and jealousy, and anxious to avoid the suspicion with which every act of every public man was scrutinized, persisted in his endeavour to effect his retreat. He suggested to the king a plan, the adoption of which, he judged, would tend to quiet the discontent of the people, establish a balance of power between the commons and the court, and secure to his majesty the ascendancy in the council. The king approved his reasons, adopted his plan, and reduced the number of his councillors from fifty to thirty, fifteen officers of the crown ; the rest, chief men from the popular party. For a time the new council worked very well, but the incongruousness of its elements soon destroyed that concentration of purpose which is the very soul of such a body. In the next year, 1680, the council was again changed, and Sir William Temple, though, as one of their number, he had frequently joined in their deliberations, ever looking anxiously for the time of his liberation from public business, endeavoured gradually to withdraw himself into retirement. The king, however, again summoned him into action, intending to send him on an embassy to Spain ; but just at the completion of his preparations, his majesty desired him to defer his journey till the end of the session of parliament, in which the factious were exceedingly violent. Sir William was at that time member for Cambridge, and strenuously opposed the attempt to cut off the duke of York from the succession. His endeavours, he said, should ever be to unite the royal family, but that he would never enter into any council to divide them. This 'Bill of Exclusion,' after long and sharp contests, was thrown out ; and the last act of Sir William in

parliament, was to convey the king's final answer to the address of the house of commons, containing a resolution never to consent to the exclusion of his brother: an office of so obnoxious a character, that no other person could be found to undertake it. When, however, in January 1681, the king dissolved the parliament without the advice of the privy council, he avowed with great boldness his disapprobation of the measure; and being now quite weary of all the faction and misgovernment he had witnessed, he declined the offer of being returned for the university, in the new parliament which was summoned at Oxford, and withdrew to Sheen. Thence he sent word to the king, "that he would pass the rest of his life as good a subject as any in his kingdom, but would never more meddle with public affairs." His majesty, in consequence, expunged his name from the council, but returned an assurance, that Sir William's secession had given him no offence. From which time, to the end of this reign, and during part of the next, he remained at Sheen. In 1686, however, he removed to a very retired and agreeable spot, named Moor Park, near Farnham, Surrey, where, afflicted with the gout, and otherwise suffering from the infirmities of age, he resolved to pass the remainder of his days. On his way thither, he visited King James, and endeavoured to engage his majesty's favour and protection, but again avowed his fixed resolution never more to enter on any public employment. His retirement now was so secluded, and he became so much a stranger to the course and changes of public affairs, that not only was he wholly unacquainted with the design of the prince of Orange, but was one of the last men in England that gave credit to the account of his landing. He refused his son permission to present himself to William on his landing, but after James' abdication, he took his son with him to wait on the prince at Windsor. William pressed his acceptance of the secretaryship, and declared that kindness was the only motive for the concealment of his design. Both unwilling and unable himself, he, nevertheless, was content that his son should accept some appointment; accordingly, Mr John Temple was made secretary at war, but had scarcely held the office a week, when he drowned himself in the Thames. Sudden and awful as was this event, Sir William received the intelligence with a degree of coolness wholly foreign to the usual character of parental affection, and involving a far greater extent of unfavourable import than can be comprised in the phrase, 'stoic firmness,' which, together with 'Christian resignation,' has been applied as descriptive of the feeling which dictated the utterance, on this occasion, of the Stoic maxim, that 'a wise man may dispose of himself, and make his life as short as he pleases.'

The disturbances of the revolution had compelled Sir William to abandon Moor Park and reside with his son at Sheen; but, at the end of this year, he returned to Moor Park, where he had the honour of being frequently consulted by his majesty, and where he remained till the period of his death, which occurred in Jan. 1698, he being then in his seventieth year.

Sir William Temple's general character seems, from other accounts, to have been attractive. Bishop Burnet, however, makes the following observations on him: "Temple was too proud to bear contempt, or forget such an injury soon. He was a vain man, much blown up in



his own conceit, which he showed too indecently on all occasions. He had a true judgment in affairs, and very good principles with relation to government, but good in nothing else; for he was an Epicurean both in principle and practice. He seemed to think that things were as they are from all eternity; at least, he thought religion was fit only for the mob. He was a corrupter of all that came near him, and he delivered himself up wholly to study ease and pleasure's."<sup>1</sup> As a companion, he was social and humorous, and it has been said that he never made an unsuccessful attempt to gain the good will and friendship of another: as a politician he held a deservedly high rank; without ambition or avarice, and thoroughly acquainted with the true interests of his country, he pursued his course in sincerity, integrity, and honour, enjoying the friendship and confidence of each of the three kings in whose reigns he lived: as a writer, he is classed with the most eminent and popular of his time. His 'Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands,' are a valuable and interesting performance, highly deserving the attention of the politician and philosopher. The 'Miscellanies,' are essays on various subjects, lively and interesting, if not profound. His 'Memoirs' are important to the history of the times. He published also 'An Introduction to the History of England;' and Swift, who had lived with him during his latter years, edited, after his death, three volumes of his 'Letters.' All Sir William Temple's writings display much acquaintance both with books and men, and are entirely free from the licentiousness so prevalent in that age. Their style is negligent and incorrect, but agreeable, resembling that of easy and polite conversation.

## James II.

BORN A. D. 1683.—DIED A. D. 1701.

JAMES II. of England, and VII. of Scotland, the second son of Charles I. and of Henrietta of France, was born in October, 1683, and immediately declared duke of York. After the capture of Oxford and the defeat of the royalists' hopes, he escaped to the continent, in April, 1648. In his twentieth year, he entered the French army, and served under Turenne in four campaigns. He subsequently served under the prince of Condé in Flanders.

The circumstances attending the duke's marriage with the daughter of the chancellor, afterwards earl of Clarendon, are thus related by the anonymous compiler of James's life: "We must not forget to mention in this year (1660), so important and so extraordinary a passage in the duke's life, as was his first marriage with the lord-chancellor's daughter, extraordinary indeed, both in itself and in the consequences, both good and bad, which in process of time followed from it. When the princesse of Orange came to Paris to see the queen her mother, the duke being (there) at that time, as has been before mentioned, Mrs Anne Hide was one of her maids of honour, who then attended her: it happen'd that after some conversation together, the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of his own Times. Burnet speaks highly of his Letters.

duke fell in love with her, she having witt and other qualittys capable of surprising a heart less inclinable to the sexe, than was that of his Royal Highness in the first warmth of his youth. She indeed shew'd both her witt and her vertue in managing the affaire so dexterously, that the duke overmastered by his passion, at last gave her a promise of marriage some time before the Restoration: not long after which, the lord-chancellor, her father, being then uppermost in the king's favour, the duke chose that time to beg his majesty's leave to perform what he had promised; which at first his majesty positively refused, and used many arguments to dissuade the duke from that resolution; and not only his majesty but many of the duke's friends, and most especially some of his meniall servants, with a violent zeal opposed the match. However (the duke still continuing constant in his resolution to be true in his word, and chusing rather to undergo the censure of being fraile in promising, than of being unjust in breaking his promise) the king at last, after much importunity, consented to the marriage; and it may well be supposed that my lord-chancellor did his part, but with great caution and circumspection, to soften the king in that matter, which in every respect seem'd so much for his own advantage. The king's leave being thus obtained, the duke without loss of time privately married the young lady, and soon after own'd the marriage. It must be confessed, that what she wanted in birth, was so well made up by other endowments, that her carriage afterwards did not misbecome her acquired dignity." These statements are in direct contradiction to the account which Clarendon himself gives of this matter; but Hume, whose great object it was to palliate the conduct of James, has adopted them in his history.

At the Restoration, James took the command of the fleet as lord-high-admiral, in which station he displayed considerable skill and bravery.

Considerable doubts have existed relative to the date of the conversion of Charles and James to the Catholic faith. In Welwood's 'Memoirs' it is asserted that the latter was privately reconciled to the church of Rome previously to the Restoration; other accounts fix the date of this remarkable change in the year 1671. James himself, in his diary, tells us that "he did not turn till after" his return to England, and his having read the histories of the Reformation. His anonymous biographer gives the following account of his conversion:—

"It was about this time, in the beginning of the year 1669, that his royal highness (who had it long in his thoughts that the church of England was the only true church) was most sensibly touched in conscience, and began to think seriously of his salvation. Accordingly he sent for one Father Simons, a Jesuit, who had the reputation of a very learned man, to discourse with him upon that subject; and, when he came, he told him the good intentions he had of being a Catholic, and treated with him about his being reconciled to the church. After much discourse about the matter, the father very sincerely told him, that unless he would quitt the communion of the church of England, he could not be received into the Catholic church; the duke then said, he thought it might be done by a dispensation from the pope, alleging to him the singularity of his case, and the advantage it might bring to the Catholic religion in general, and in particular to those of

it in England, if he might have such dispensation for outwardly appearing a Protestant at least till he could own himself publicly to be a Catholic, with more security to his own person, and advantage to them. But the good father insisted, that even the pope himself had not the power to grant it, for it was an unalterable doctrine of the Catholic church, not to do ill that good might follow. What this good Jesuite thus said, was afterward confirmed to the duke by the pope himself, to whom he wrott upon the same subject. Till this time his royal highness beleev'd (as it is commonly beleev'd, or at least said, by the church of England doctors) that dispensations in any such cases are by the pope easily granted, but Father Simon's words, and the letter of his holiness, made the duke think it high time to declare himself, and not to live in so unsafe and so uneasy a condition."

The date of James's public avowal of the Catholic religion, was some months previous to the Christmas of 1672, yet, after that period, he continued to attend with his brother on the Protestant service. Charles was of a more cautious disposition than his brother, and was alarmed at the temerity of disposition which his subsequent conduct exhibited with regard to religion; he was urgent with him to assume the appearance at least, of holding the Protestant faith. In one of their conversations, startled at James's rashness, Charles is reported to have said, "Brother, *I* am too old to go again on my travels; *you* may if you please." Still James refused all compromise; eager, rash, and obstinate, he could not brook delay in the execution of any plan which he had once formed, but precipitately avowed himself a member of the Catholic church. "The difficulties he encountered," says Heywood, "made him more determined in his conduct; and his brother's efforts to recal him to his former religion, the loss of all his employments, and a long train of calamities and humiliations, served only to strengthen his resolution."

From this period, therefore, may be dated the commencement of that struggle which was so long and so perseveringly maintained in parliament against the duke. On the death of Charles, however, James, sensible perhaps that it was expedient to soothe the minds of his new subjects, assembled the council and made a declaration of his determination to support the established religion. This proceeding answered the temporary purpose for which it was desired. It enabled him to ascend the throne without resistance, and procured an ample civil list from the parliament; yet his next step was to solicit from the French king the continuance of his brother's pension. The latter transaction has been justly characterised by Fox as "one of the meanest and most criminal which history records." Hume says, the king found himself by degrees under the necessity of falling into an union with the French monarch, who could alone assist him in promoting the catholic religion in England. In reply to this, Fox observes, that when James's apologetical historian wrote, "these documents had not been made public, from which the account of the communications with Barillon has been taken, and by which it appears, that a connection with France was, as well in point of time, as in importance, the first object of his reign, and that the immediate specific motive to that connection, was the same as that of his brother; the desire of rendering himself independent of Parliament, and absolute, not that of establishing popery in England, which was considered as a more remote contingency. That this was

the case, is evident from all the circumstances of the transaction, and especially from the zeal with which he was served in it by ministers who were never suspected of any leaning towards popery, and not one of whom, (Sunderland excepted), could be brought to the measures that were afterwards taken in favour of that religion. It is the more material to attend to this distinction, because the Tory historians, especially such of them as are not Jacobites, have taken much pains to induce us to attribute the violences and illegalities of this reign to James's religion, which was peculiar to him, rather than to that desire of absolute power, which so many other princes have had, have, and always will have in common with him. The policy of such misrepresentation is obvious. If this reign is to be considered as a period insulated, as it were, and unconnected with the general course of history, and if the events of it are to be attributed exclusively to the particular character, and particular attachments of the monarch, the sole inference will be, that we must not have a Catholic for our king; whereas, if we consider it, which history well warrants us to do, as a part of that system which had been pursued by all the Stuart kings, as well prior, as subsequent to the Restoration, the lesson which it affords is very different, as well as far more instructive. We are taught, generally, the dangers Englishmen will always be liable to, if, from favour to a prince upon the throne, or from a confidence, however grounded, that his views are agreeable to our own notions of the constitution, we, in any considerable degree, abate of that vigilant, and unremitting jealousy of the power of the crown, which can alone secure to us the effect of those wise laws that have been provided for the benefit of the subject; and still more particularly, that it is in vain to think of making a compromise with power, and by yielding to it in other points, preserving some favourite object, such, for instance, as the church in James's case, from its grasp."

It would be greatly to exceed the limits prescribed to us in this article were we to enumerate all the various acts of imprudence and violence by which James pursued affairs to their crisis, during his short and inglorious reign. His introduction of Father Petre to a seat at the council-board; his sending of a solemn embassy to the pope with proposals for a solemn readmission of England into the bosom of the catholic church; his appointment of three additional vicars-general; his re-establishment of that most obnoxious tribunal, the high commission-court; his famous dispute with the university of Oxford, and the arrest of the seven bishops; his patronage of Jefferies and Kirke; his appointment of catholic noblemen to the highest offices in the government of Ireland and Scotland—by these, and other infatuated acts, he effectually succeeded in estranging the affections of the nation from his person and government. All parties now looked towards the prince of Orange to aid them in the recovery of their laws and liberties; even those who were most sincerely attached to the reigning family felt that the interference of the prince of Orange had now become absolutely necessary for the preservation of the British constitution.

Supported alike by whigs and tories, by churchmen and dissenters, the Dutch prince landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, 1688, and instantly marched on Exeter. No one thought of opposing the invader; all hastened to join his standard. At last the army itself be-

trayed symptoms of divided allegiance, and James found himself deserted even by his own children. At this crisis of his fortunes, he yielded to despair; and, after making an abortive attempt to escape to the continent, was allowed to withdraw himself from the country. He retired to the French court, where he was well received by Louis XIV. In the meantime, the throne of Great Britain was declared abdicated, and was filled with the consent of the convention, which met to settle the government dissolved by the flight of James, by his eldest daughter, Mary, and her husband, William, conjointly.

James now devoted his attention between the corporal austerities of his religion and those intrigues by which he hoped to recover his power. In 1689, he landed in Ireland, where he was received with open arms by the catholics; but the decisive battle of the Boyne annihilated his hopes in this quarter; and all succeeding projects for his restoration proved equally abortive. He died at St Germain's on the 16th of September, 1701.

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## II.—ECCLESIASTICAL SERIES.

### Archbishop Bancroft.

BORN A. D. 1544.—DIED A. D. 1610.

THIS prelate was born at Farnworth, in Lancashire, in the year 1544. He took his first degree in arts as a student of Christ college, Cambridge, whence he removed to Jesus college, where he took a master's degree in 1570. Soon after this he was appointed chaplain to Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, who presented him, in 1575, to the rectory of Feversham, in the county of Cambridge. In 1585, he was admitted doctor of divinity, and appointed treasurer of St Paul's cathedral. In 1586, he was presented by the lord-chancellor Hatton, whose chaplain he then was, to the rectory of Cottingham, in Northamptonshire: he was at the same time, also, one of Whitgift's chaplains. On the 12th of January, 1588, he delivered a furious invective against the puritans, in a sermon at St Paul's cross, which the curious reader will find reprinted in Hickes' '*Bibliotheca Script. Eccles. Anglicanæ*.' In 1589, Dr Bancroft was promoted to a prebendal stall in St Paul's; in 1592, to the same dignity in Westminster; and in 1594 to a stall in Canterbury. In 1594, he published two works, which created a great sensation at the time of their appearance. The one was intitled '*Dangerous positions and proceedings, published and practised within this island of Britain, under pretence of reformation, and for the presbyterian discipline*.' The other was called '*A Survey of the pretended holy discipline, containing an historical narration of the beginnings, success, parts, proceedings, authority, and doctrine of it*.' We have the authority of Whitgift himself for believing that both these works "were liked, and greatly commended by the learnedest men in the

realm;" that is, that they approved themselves highly to the church-party, who rewarded their author with the see of London, on the death of Richard Fletcher. Bancroft enjoyed Queen Elizabeth's favour, and attended her during her last illness. In the commencement of James's reign, he was one of the chief commissioners on behalf of the church at the famous Hampton-court conference, and took the lead in the disputations. Soon after he was appointed one of the commissioners for regulating the affairs of the church, and for perusing and suppressing books printed in England, or imported into the country, without public authority. In the convocation of 1603-4, Bancroft sat as president, Whitgift having died before its sittings commenced. In October, 1604, he was promoted to the see of Canterbury.

The first acts of the new archbishop were directed to enforce conformity among the clergy of his province. Calderwood informs us that no fewer than three hundred ministers were silenced or deprived for rejecting the terms which Bancroft sought to impose upon them; but Collier denies the accuracy of this statement, and says, that not more than forty-nine were deprived, on any account whatever, throughout the realm.<sup>1</sup> In September, 1605, the archbishop was sworn in one of his majesty's privy council. In 1608, he was elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, in the place of the deceased earl of Dorset. In 1609, he presented a plan to parliament for the better maintenance of the clergy, according to which, among other particulars, he proposed to recover impropriations to poor vicarages, to prevent simony, and to "settle the glebe lands, which, by strong hand, were detained from divers parsons and vicars." The archbishop wished that the lay-impropriators should be made to disgorge a portion of the property of the church which they had got into their hands; but the opposing interest was too strong even for an archbishop to subdue, and the scheme fell to the ground. Bancroft zealously promoted King James's endeavours to bring the episcopalian church of Scotland into a state of conformity with that of England. In 1610, the titular bishops of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway, were canonically consecrated by the bishops of London, Ely, Bath, and Rochester. The two archbishops did not take any part in the ceremony, that there might be no ground afforded for the suspicion of any claim of metropolitanical power over an independent church. But when, on this occasion, a difficulty was started by the bishop of Ely, who was of opinion that the titular bishops should first be ordained deacons and priests, his objection was over-ruled by Bancroft, who maintained that the episcopal authority might be fully conveyed at once. The archbishop did not long survive this union of the churches. He had been long afflicted with the stone, and that acute disease brought his life to a close at Lambeth, on the 2d of November, 1610. Among other legacies, he left the whole of his library to his successors in the archiepiscopate for ever. During the troubles of the succeeding reign it was transferred by parliament to Cambridge; after the Restoration it was demanded by Archbishop Juxon, and finally recovered by his successor, Sheldon.

Camden has pronounced Archbishop Bancroft "a person of singular courage and prudence, in all matters relating to the discipline and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 697.

establishment of the church." Lord Clarendon says that "he understood the church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the nonconformists by and after the conference at Hampton-court; countenanced men of the greatest parts in learning, and disposed the clergy to a more solid course of study than they had been accustomed to; and, if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva."<sup>2</sup> The noble historian's confidence in the archbishop's powers will probably create a smile on the part of our readers; but we have the concurrent testimony of Whitgift, Camden, Clarendon, and Fuller, to the fact, that the archbishop was a man of high moral courage, and sound and extensive learning. He has been accused of covetousness, but Fuller himself acquits him of this charge: "True it is," says that historian, "he maintained not the state of officers, like his predecessor or successor, in house-keeping; yet he was never observed, in his person, to aim at the enriching his kindred, but had the intention to make pious uses his public heir. His estate at his death exceeded not £6,000, no sum to speak a single man covetous, who had sat six years in the see of Canterbury, and somewhat longer in London."<sup>3</sup>

### Bishop Andrews.

BORN A. D. 1555.—DIED A. D. 1626.

LANCELOT ANDREWS, bishop of Winchester in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., was born in the city of London in 1555. His father was master of the Trinity-house. The proficiency which young Lancelot made at Merchant-tailor's school, recommended him to the notice of Dr Walls, residentiary of St Pauls, who bestowed upon him one of his own scholarships in Pembroke hall, Cambridge. After taking his degree of B.A., he obtained a fellowship, and was soon after presented with an honorary fellowship in Jesus college, Oxford. He was at this time an accomplished Greek and Hebrew scholar, but had gained his highest reputation as a theologian, having devoted himself with unwearied application to divinity for several years. He was chosen catechist of Pembroke-hall, and was much consulted in cases of conscience; and having undertaken to read lectures on the ten commandments every Saturday and Sunday, great numbers resorted to chapel to hear him. At last, Henry, earl of Huntingdon, prevailed on him to attend him, in the quality of chaplain, into the north, of which he was president. In this situation he displayed the most unwearied diligence as a preacher, and was eminently successful in converting catholics to the reformed faith. His merits recommended him to the notice of Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, who presented him with the vicarage of Cripplegate, and a prebendship in St Pauls. He now read divinity lectures three times a week in St Pauls.

His next step was that of chaplain in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, who

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Church Hist. c. x. p. 57.

made him prebendary of Westminster in the room of Dr Bancroft, promoted to the see of London, and afterwards dean, in the place of Dr Goodman, deceased. The latter situation imposed upon him the superintendence of Westminster school, to which he paid very great attention. Hacket says, "he was strict to charge our masters that they should give us lessons out of none but the most classical authors; that he did often supply the place both of head-schoolmaster and usher for the space of a whole week together, and gave us not an hour of loitering time from morning to night; that he caused their exercises in prose and verse to be brought to him to examine their style and proficiency; that he never walked to Chiswick for his recreation without a brace of the young fry; and in that way-faring leisure, had a singular dexterity to fill these narrow vessels with a funnel. And, which was the greatest burden of his toil, sometimes thrice in a week, sometimes oftener, he sent for the uppermost scholars to his lodgings at night, and kept them with him from eight to eleven, unfolding to them the best rudiments of the Greek tongue, and the elements of the Hebrew grammar. And all this he did to boys without any compulsion of correction; nay, I never heard him utter so much as a word of austerity among us. Alas!" continues Hacket, "this is but an ivy leaf crept into the laurel of his immortal garland! This is that Andrews, the ointment of whose name is sweeter than spices. This is that celebrated bishop of Winton, whose learning King James admired above all his chaplains!"

James had such a high opinion of his abilities, that he employed him to answer Bellarmine's treatise against his own 'Defence of the right of kings.' This he did with great spirit and judgment, in a treatise entitled 'Tortura Torti,' which was printed at London in 1609. In 1605, the dean was promoted to the bishopric of Chichester, and in 1609, on the vacancy of Ely, he was advanced to that see. He was also nominated a privy-councillor. His promotion to the bishopric of Winchester and deanery of the king's chapel, took place in 1618. He continued in favour with Charles I., and died on the 25th of September, 1626.

All Bishop Andrews' contemporaries unite in giving him a high character for learning, benevolence, and suavity of manners. His correspondence embraced the principal scholars of Europe: Casaubon, Cluverius, Vossius, Grotius, Peter du Moulin, Barclay, the author of *Argenis*, and Erpenius. Clarendon regrets that he was not appointed to the primacy on the death of Bancroft. Milton thought him worthy of his pen, and wrote a Latin elegy on his death. His works are very numerous. The principal are: 1st, A volume of sermons, published in 1628-31, containing ninety-six in all. 2d, Lectures on the Ten Commandments, with nineteen sermons on prayer. And, 3d, A collection of posthumous and orphan lectures, delivered at St Pauls and St Giles's. London, 1657, folio. His 'Manual of Devotion,' in Greek and Latin, has often been reprinted, and was translated by Dean Stanhope. Several of his minor pieces appeared in a collected form, in 4to, in 1629, with a dedication to King Charles from the pen of Laud.



## Bishop Carleton.

DIED A. D. 1628.

GEORGE CARLETON, one of the most learned divines of the church of England in the 17th century, was the grandson of Thomas Carleton of Carleton-hall, in Cumberland. The celebrated Bernard Gilpin took upon himself the charge of his education, and was rewarded by witnessing the eminent success of his eleve at Oxford.

He took the degree of D. D. in 1613. In 1618, he was appointed bishop of Llandaff, and in the same year was sent by James, as one of his deputies, to the synod of Dort. He acquitted himself in this embassy much to the satisfaction of his colleagues, and was rewarded with the see of Norwich, on the death of Dr Harsnet in 1619. He died in 1628. Echard, Fuller, and Camden, speak of him in terms of high respect.

As we shall have frequent occasion, in the course of these ecclesiastical memoirs, to allude to the proceedings of the Synod of Dort, we shall here introduce a brief history of the origin of that famous council, from the biographical sketch which Mr Allport has prefixed to his translation of Bishop Davenant's Exposition of Colossians:—"The States of Holland," says Mr Allport, "had no sooner established their freedom from the Spanish yoke, than they were embroiled in theological contentions, which soon became intermingled with political cabals. The awful doctrine of the Divine decrees had been placed by the Belgic Confession and Catechism, in common with most of the other Creeds of the Reformed Churches, in the sacred and undefined simplicity of the Scriptures. But, in the period immediately subsequent to the Reformation, the prying curiosity of men, anxious to be wise above what is written, proceeded to the attempt of accurate and precise explanation of what is evidently inexplicable. When, therefore, the supralapsarian scheme began to take place of the moderate system hitherto adopted, it was opposed, on the other side, by those who, in their eagerness to sustain the freedom of human will, dangerously entrenched upon the freedom of Divine grace.

"These disputes, however, led to no important consequences, until, in 1591, they centered, as it were, in James Arminius, professor of divinity in the university of Leyden, a man who joined to unquestionable piety and meekness of spirit, a clear and acute judgment; and who had obtained no slight eminence by the talent with which he had extricated the doctrines of Christianity from the dry and technical mode in which they had hitherto been stated and discussed. His celebrity placed him in a situation ill-suited to his habits and temper. As a pupil of Beza, he had embraced the extreme views to which that divine had carried the tenets advocated by the powerful pen of Calvin. It happened that one Coornhert had advanced some opinions, which, if not loose in themselves, were, at least, expressed in a very unguarded way. The ministers of Delft published a reply: in which the moderate and generally received sublapsarian hypothesis was sustained; which gave little less offence to the high Calvinists than did the heterodox

language of Coornhert. Arminius, therefore, as the most talented divine of the day, was applied to, in order to take up the pen on both sides. On the one hand, his friend Martin Lydius, solicited him to vindicate the supralapsarian views of his former tutor, Beza, against the reply of the ministers; and, on the other, he was invited by the synod of Amsterdam, to defend this same reply against Coornhert. Placed in this remarkable situation, Arminius felt compelled to enter into an examination of the whole question, and was induced to change his sentiments, and to adopt that view of the Divine dispensations which now bears his name. His change, however, was very gradual; but appears to have been hastened by the publication, in Holland, of the *Aurea Armilla*, of Perkins, a very powerful supralapsarian divine of the Church of England. This alteration of opinion would not have led to any serious consequences, had Arminius, and the moderate part of the church, been left to themselves. The fundamental point of justification by faith, with the doctrine of assurance, and even of final perseverance, were held by him to his death; and his exemplary piety and humility secured for him the attachment even of those who, when the dispute subsequently extended, became his most zealous opponents. The heat, however, of the less discreet part of the church, and the dangerous opinions of some who leaned to the Socinian and Pelagian heresies, (among whom may be designated Episcopius, Grotius, Limborch, &c.) being, as is no uncommon case at present, confounded with the tenets of Arminius, led to angry and uncharitable controversies, by which the peace of the church was grievously broken in upon. Still, the questions might have been amicably settled, but that, at the annual meetings of the synods in 1605, the class of Dort unwisely fanned the embers into a flame by transmitting the following grievance to the university of Leyden:—‘Inasmuch as rumours are heard that certain controversies have arisen in the church and university of Leyden, concerning the doctrine of the reformed churches, this class has judged it necessary that the synod should deliberate respecting the safest and most speedy method of settling those controversies; that all the schisms and causes of offence which spring out of them may seasonably be removed, and the union of the reformed churches preserved inviolate against the calumnies of adversaries.’

“When this officious document reached Leyden, it gave offence to the moderate men of both sides; and met with the following reply from the professors there: ‘that they wished the Dort class had, in this affair, acted with greater discretion, and in a more orderly manner; that, in their own opinion, there were more disputes among the students than was agreeable to them as professors; but, that among themselves, the professors of theology, no difference existed that could be considered as affecting, in the least, the fundamentals of doctrine; and that they would endeavour to diminish the disputes among the students.’ This was signed by Arminius, then rector of the university, by Gomarus, and others.

“From the signature of Gomarus to this reply, it is evident, that his subsequent bitterness against the remonstrants at the synod of Dort, was the result of that acrimony which controversy so often engenders; and that, at the period before us, he neither considered the views of his colleague as affecting the vitality of the faith, nor even interrupting their

private friendship; although, unhappily, afterwards, he denounced the former, as upsetting the basis of the gospel; spoke of the latter, when deceased, in terms the most harsh and uncharitable, and fomented those persecuting measures against his followers, which have rendered the name of the synod of Dort so odious.

"This meddling interference of the class of Dort, having brought the whole question before the public, kindled a flame through the United Provinces. In the heat of this, in the year 1609, Arminius died, with a spirit completely broken by the calumny and rancour with which he was assailed. His followers abandoned many of the views which he held in common with Calvin, particularly on the vital point of justification. They became universally lax both in their opinions and in their society; and, as has too often been the case, aversion from Calvinism became a general bond of union. Having presented a strong remonstrance to the states-general in 1610, they obtained the name of *Remonstrants*, and their opponents having presented a counter-remonstrance, were termed *Contra-Remonstrants*.

"To settle these disputes, the Remonstrants demanded a general council of the Protestant churches. This the states refused; but it was at length determined by four out of seven of the United Provinces, that a national synod should be held at Dort—a town eminent for its hostility to the Arminians; and letters were sent to the French Huguenots, and to the different Protestant states of Germany and Switzerland, requesting them to send deputies to assist at the deliberations. Among others, the king of England, James I., was solicited in the same manner. And he, partly from political motives, and partly from his love of theological controversy, complied with the request, and selected for this purpose five of the most eminent theologians in his realm, viz. Dr George Carleton, bishop of Landaff, Dr Joseph Hall, dean of Worcester, Dr Davenant, Dr Samuel Ward, master of Sydney Sussex college, and Walter Balcanqual, a presbyter of the church of Scotland; and when Hall, on account of ill health, returned home, his place was filled by Dr Goad, precentor of St Paul's, and chaplain to the primate, Abbot."

Among Carleton's works are: '*Heroici Characteres*,' published at Oxford in 1603; '*Titles examined*,' Lond. 1606; '*Jurisdiction regal, episcopal, and papal*,' Lond. 1610, 4to.; '*Astrologimania*,' Lond. 1624; '*Vita B. Gilpini*,' Lond. 1626; and several sermons and letters. He had also a hand in the Dutch Annotations.

## Henry Ainsworth.

DIED CIRC. A. D. 1629.

HENRY AINSWORTH, an eminent biblical commentator, and non-conforming divine, flourished at the latter end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. The time and place of his birth are unknown. Adopting the views of the Brownists, he shared in the persecutions to which they were subjected in Elizabeth's reign; and to avoid the troubles which harassed his party, retired to Holland, where, in conjunction with one of his brethren, he became pastor of an independent congregation at Amsterdam. On account of some differences

with his people, he left them, and went to Ireland, but soon after returned again to Holland, where he remained till his death, concerning which a singular circumstance is related. Ainsworth having picked up in the street a valuable diamond, advertised it, and found the owner to be a wealthy Jew. The Jew offered him any recompense he might demand, but Ainsworth would accept of no acknowledgment, and only requested in return that the Jew would obtain for him a conference with some learned rabbis on the prophecies of the Old Testament concerning the Messiah. The Jew promised this, but not being able to make good his engagement, is said, through shame or vexation, or from some other motive which does not appear, to have poisoned Ainsworth. This probably happened about the year 1629. Ainsworth was a man of immense biblical learning, and has written very erudite 'Annotations' on the Pentateuch and Psalms, which were reprinted together, in folio, in 1627 and 1639. He also wrote some minor pieces, chiefly referring to the controversies of the time, and now all forgotten, except, perhaps, his 'Arrow against Idolatry.' Heylin—who, however, was no friend to sectaries—asserts, that Ainsworth maintained a violent dispute with Broughton, one of his brethren, on the question, 'Whether the colour of Aaron's linen ephod was blue or green' ?<sup>1</sup>

### Robert Brown.

BORN A. D. 1549.—DIED A. D. 1630.

ROBERT BROWN, born in 1549, son of Anthony Brown, Esq. of Folthorp, Rutlandshire, was descended from an ancient and honourable family, and was nearly related to the lord-treasurer Cecil. He received his education at Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, and appears to have commenced his career as a clergyman. He was a preacher at Bennet church, and was highly esteemed for his oratory. Prior to the year 1580, he had been a schoolmaster in Southwark, and a lecturer at Islington. His restless disposition made him uneasy in these situations, and about 1580 he openly attacked the order and discipline of the established church.

Soon after this period we find him settled at Norwich, where he gained great influence in a Dutch church formed in that city. He persuaded many of its members to embrace his views of church government. Growing bold by his success, he formed a distinct church upon democratical principles. His proceedings soon attracted the attention of Dr Freake, bishop of Norwich, who committed him to the custody of the sheriff. He had, however, extensively propagated his opinions, and had enlisted one Richard Harrison in the same cause, by whose assistance several churches upon Brownist principles were formed in different parts of the country. Through the influence of his relative, the lord-treasurer, he was released from prison. But in the year 1582, a book appeared entitled 'The Life and Manners of true Christians,' to which is prefixed 'A treatise of reformation without tarrying

<sup>1</sup> Neale.—Biog. Brit.—Heylin's Hist.

for any, and of the wickedness of those preachers who will not reform themselves and their charge, because they will tarry till the magistrate command and compel them.' Upon the publication of this work he was again arrested and committed to prison, but having denied that he was acquainted with the publication of the book, and through the intercession of the lord-treasurer, he was again liberated, and sent home to his father, with whom he appears to have continued about four years. After this, he again engaged in disseminating his opinions upon church government, and in condemning the established church. During this period he formed many societies upon the principles he had imbibed—but was so closely pursued by the bishops and the court, and his new societies so severely persecuted, that with many of his followers—who now included among them several very learned and able men—he passed over to Holland, where leave was granted them to worship God in their own way.

The exiles settled at Middleburgh in Zealand, and formed a church to their own mind. But Brown soon became uneasy. His associates adhered to his leading principles, but disowned the man and were offended by his conduct. In the year 1589, he returned again to England, and having renounced the principles he had at first propagated, accepted the rectory of a church near Oundle, Northamptonshire. He had now become a dissolute and idle man. He is represented as having cast off his wife, and become wholly regardless of the duties of his rectory, which was served by a substitute. His disorderly life brought him to poverty and disgrace, while his pride and violence of temper brought upon him a wretched and pitiable end. It appears that when he was about 80 years of age, the payment of some rate was demanded of him by the constable of the parish, at which he became enraged and struck the constable. For this assault he was committed to Northampton jail, where he sickened and died in the year 1630, at the age of 81.

It is to be observed, that much uncertainty hangs over many of the facts of Brown's history, and that it is not easy now to determine the sentiments which he taught, and which his followers continued to maintain after he had himself abandoned them. Fuller acknowledges that "little can be known of them, but from pens which avowedly write against them." Although Brown was the first to propagate and act upon the peculiar sentiments afterwards so extensively embraced, yet there is every probability that many learned men had discovered them, at least in part, and were ready to sanction them as soon as they were openly proclaimed. It is quite clear that these sentiments spread rapidly in England during Brown's lifetime, and that after his death they became extensively popular. In the hands of several of his followers, the system was greatly improved, and by it several churches both at home and abroad were regulated. The celebrated Henry Ainsworth was the most distinguished of these. As they continued to increase, their sentiments gradually improved and became more liberal in the hands of the independents or congregationalists—which name they subsequently assumed. At the period of the commonwealth they had become a formidable party and exercised a most salutary check upon the intolerance both of the episcopalians and presbyterians. As

they have in England completely absorbed presbyterianism, and become one of the most considerable religious denominations, it may not be uninteresting to state what were at least the opinions of their founder.

It does not appear that the early Brownists differed materially in articles of faith from the church of England; but Brown himself was exceedingly rigid in points of discipline, and contended for matters of church order with as much zeal as for the fundamentals of the Christian faith. He openly denied the church of England to be a true church, and insisted on the invalidity of her ordination, and by consequence the nullity of all her rites. Hence he forbade all communion with it, even in the public ordinances of religion. This principle of separation he carried so far as to denounce all the churches of the reformation that were not formed upon his own model. "They apprehended," says Neal, "according to the Scriptures, that every church ought to be confined within the limits of a single congregation; and that the government should be democratical. When a church was to be gathered, such as desired to be members made a confession of their faith in the presence of each other, and signed a covenant, obliging themselves to walk together in the order of the gospel, according to certain rules and agreements therein contained. The whole power of admitting and excluding members, with the deciding of all controversies, was in the brotherhood. Their church-officers for preaching the word and taking care of the poor, were chosen from among themselves, and separated to their several offices by fasting and prayer, and imposition of the hands of some of the brethren. They did not allow the priesthood to be a distinct order, or to give a man an indelible character; but as the vote of the brotherhood made him an officer, and gave him authority to preach and administer the sacraments among them; so the same power could discharge him from his office, and reduce him to the state of a private brother."

"When the number of communicants was larger than could meet in one place, the church divided and chose new officers from among themselves as before, living together as sister-churches, and giving each other the right hand of fellowship. One church might not exercise jurisdiction or authority over another, but each might give other counsel, advice, or admonition if they walked disorderly or abandoned the capital truths of religion; and if the offending church did not receive the admonition, the others were to withdraw, and publicly disown them as a church of Christ. The powers of their church-officers were confined within the narrow limits of their own society. The pastor of one church might not administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, to any but those of his own communion and their immediate children. They declared against all prescribed forms of prayer. Any lay-brother had the liberty of prophesying or giving a word of exhortation in their church assemblies; and it was usual after sermon, for some of the brotherhood to ask questions, and confer with each other upon the doctrines that had been delivered; but as for church censures, they were for an entire separation of the civil and ecclesiastical sword. In short, every church or society of Christians meeting in one place, was, according to the Brownists, a body corporate, having full power within itself to admit and exclude members, to choose and ordain officers; and when the good of the society required

it, to depose them, without being accountable to classes, conventions, synods, councils, or any jurisdiction whatsoever."

It is not a little remarkable that, notwithstanding the discredit thrown upon the principles of the Brownists, by the defection, and by the disgraceful conduct of their founder, still they should have survived, and been gradually advancing, till they have become, with some modifications, the accredited opinions of two numerous sects, the baptists and independents, respectable alike for their numbers and their talents. It is not less remarkable, that with the early Brownists, or, as they were subsequently called, independents, should have originated the doctrine of universal toleration, or the separation of the power of the church entirely from the power of the magistrate; and that the most distinguished church historians, as Mosheim, Milner, Campbell, and many others, should have agreed that the early Christian churches were undoubtedly in the main founded and regulated after the manner of the independents.

The chief of Brown's works are:—1. A thin quarto, published at Middleburgh, 1582; mentioned above. 2. 'A Treatise upon the 23d chapter of Matthew, both for an order of studying and handling the scriptures, and also for avoiding the popish disorders, and ungodly communion of all false Christians, and especially of wicked preachers and hirelings.' 3. 'A book which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians, and how unlike they are unto Turks and papists, and heathen folk,' &c.<sup>1</sup>

## George Herbert.

BORN A. D. 1593.—DIED A. D. 1632.

THIS excellent man was born at Herbert castle, near Montgomery, on the 3d of April, 1593. He was the fifth son of Richard Herbert, father of Lord Herbert of Cherbury. His father having died when he was only four years of age, George spent the next eight years of his life under the immediate tuition of his excellent mother. In his thirteenth year he became a king's scholar in Westminster school, where he continued two years, and then removed to Trinity college, Cambridge. In the first year of his residence at the university we find him lamenting, in a letter to his mother, that so much of the poetry of the day was consecrated to Venus, and so little to God and heaven; and declaring that all his poetry should be devoted to the glory of God,—a resolution to which he ever afterwards steadily adhered. During his residence at college he was a diligent and successful student. In 1619 he was chosen orator of the university, in which character he acquired the particular notice of King James, who used to call him the jewel of Cambridge, and always required his attendance when in the neighbourhood of the university. His majesty's patronage, and his friendship with the great Lord Bacon, seem to have at first excited Herbert's ambition. For a time he turned his attention to politics, and aimed at high office in the state. But the death of the king, and his mother's

<sup>1</sup> Bogue and Bennett, vol. 1. p. 128. *et seq.*—Wilson Dis. Ch. vol. 1. p. 14.—Neal.

decided opposition to his views, made him relinquish the idea of a courtier's life.

In 1626, he entered into deacon's orders. In the same year, he was made prebend of Layton, a village in Huntingdonshire. He soon afterwards married Miss Danvers, a relation of the earl of Danby, and who appears to have been a person of singular excellence. In 1630 he was inducted into the living of Bernerton, near Salisbury, vacated by the elevation of Dr Curle to the see of Bath. Immediately upon entering on this charge, he drew up certain rules for the future conduct of his life, which he subsequently committed, in a more distinct and extended form, to writing, and which were given to the world after his death, under the title of 'the Priest and the Temple, or the Country Parson's character,'—a book with which every clergyman ought to be familiarly acquainted, and which will amply repay every reader. Mr Herbert's constant practice was to attend with his whole family, twice every day, at ten and four, at the church-prayers, which he read in a chapel close to his house. His example, in this respect, was soon followed by many of his parishioners, and, it is said, the farmers in the neighbourhood would let their ploughs rest when Mr Herbert's bell rung to prayers, that they might offer their devotions to God with him, and carry back his blessing with them to their labours. Many anecdotes are related of his amiable and Christian dispositions. His love for music was such that he usually went twice a-week to Salisbury cathedral, and, at his return, would say, that the time he thus spent in listening to the church music elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth. He used also to take a part in a private music club, and to justify this practice, would say, "Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it."

Herbert died in 1632. His poetical effusions were the most popular of the day; but we must rank him beneath Donne, Quarles, and Crashaw.

### Archbishop Abbot.

BORN A. D. 1562.—DIED A. D. 1633.

GEORGE ABBOT, archbishop of Canterbury, was born October 29, 1562, at Guilford, in Surrey, where his father, Maurice Abbot, was a cloth-worker. He received the rudiments of his education at the grammar-school of his native town, whence he was removed to Baliol college, Oxford, of which, in 1593, he became a fellow. He took his degree of D.D. in 1597, and the same year, was chosen principal of University college. In 1599, he was installed dean of Winchester, and the year following, he was chosen vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, which office he again filled in 1603, and a third time in 1608.

In 1604, the translation of the Bible, now in common use, was begun by the direction of King James, and Dr Abbot was one of the eight divines of Oxford to whom the care of translating the New Testament, with the exception of the epistles, was committed. In 1608, he went to Scotland with Hume, earl of Dunbar, to assist in bringing



about a union between the national churches of Scotland and England. The object of this mission was so far accomplished that the bishops were appointed to be perpetual moderators in the diocesan synods, and invested with the power of presentation to benefices, and of deprivation or suspension; the skill and prudence which Abbot exhibited in the discharge of his delicate task, laid the foundation of his rapid preferment. In 1609, upon the death of Dr Overton, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Dr Abbot was appointed bishop of these united sees: a month afterwards he was translated to London; and on the 2d November, 1610, he was raised to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.

It is not improbable that he owed his advancement as much to his adulation of his royal master—whose itch for flattery is well known—as to the real merit which he unquestionably possessed, and his sincere attachment to the protestant cause, in which his parents had suffered considerably. In the preface to one of his pamphlets, the following specimen of ridiculous flattery occurs:—Speaking of the king, he says, “whose life hath been so immaculate, and unspotted, &c., that even malice itself, which leaves nothing unsearched, could never find true blemish in it, nor cast probable aspersion on it. Zealous as a David; learned and wise, the Solomon of our age; religious as Josias; careful of spreading Christ’s faith as Constantine the Great; just as Moses; undefiled in all his ways as a Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah; full of clemency as another Theodosius.” It would also appear from a letter of King James’s to Abbot, first published by Dean Sherlock, that his ideas of regal power were little likely to give offence, even to such a prince as James; nevertheless, Abbot could sometimes oppose the will of his sovereign with great decision and firmness, and his moderation in the exercise of his high functions recommended him greatly to the puritanic and popular party. He strenuously promoted the projected match between the Elector Palatine and the Princess Elizabeth, and performed their nuptial ceremony on the 14th of February, 1612. “It was acceptable news,” says Neal, “to the English puritans, to hear of a protestant prince in Bohemia; and they earnestly desired his majesty to support him, as appears by Archbishop Abbot’s letter, who was known to speak the sense of that whole party. This prelate being asked his opinion as a privy-councillor, while he was confined to his bed with the gout, wrote the following letter to the secretary of state:—‘That it was his opinion that the elector should accept the crown; that England should support him openly; and that as soon as news of his coronation should arrive, the bells should be rung, guns fired, and bonfires made, to let all Europe see that the king was determined to countenance him.’ The archbishop adds, ‘It is a great honour to our king, to have such a son made a king; methinks I foresee in this the work of God, that by degrees the kings of the earth shall leave the whore to desolation. Our striking in will comfort the Bohemians, and bring in the Dutch and the Dane, and Hungary will run the same fortune. As for money and means, let us trust God and the parliament, as the old and honourable way of raising money. This from my bed (says the brave old prelate), September 12, 1619, and when I can stand I will do better service.’”

The affair of the divorce of the Lady Essex, has been considered

one of the greatest blemishes of James's reign. The king referred the matter to a court of delegates, consisting of bishops and civilians, which he expected would decide in favour of the divorce ; but the archbishop boldly resisted the measure, and sentence was given in the lady's favour. On another occasion, the archbishop set himself against the views and wishes of the king and court, when these ran counter to a higher allegiance which he owed. Happening to be at Croydon, in 1618, on the day when the king's proclamation permitting sports and pastimes on the Sabbath was ordered to be read in all churches, he forbade it to be published in the church of that place. A fatal accident, to which he was made an innocent party, greatly affected him. Whilst enjoying the recreation of hunting in Lord Zouch's park, at Bramzill, in Hampshire, he accidentally killed one of the keepers by a barbed arrow from a cross-bow. Advantage was eagerly taken of this misfortune to his prejudice. Four bishops were waiting for consecration at his hands at this very moment, but refused to receive it from a homicide, whilst his enemies eagerly alleging that he had thereby incurred an irregularity which incapacitated him for performing the offices of primate, obtained the appointment of a commission of ten persons to inquire into this matter ; but the result disappointed them, it being declared that, as the offence was involuntary, it could not affect his archiepiscopal character. His grace, during the remaining twelve years of his life, kept a monthly fast on Tuesday, the day on which the accident happened.

His increasing infirmities prevented him from regularly assisting at the deliberations of the council ; but he attended the king in his last illness, and performed the ceremony of the coronation of Charles I. He was never greatly in the new king's favour, in consequence of his vigorously opposing his projected union with a Spanish princess ; and upon his refusing to license an assize-sermon preached by Dr Sibthorpe, at Northampton, in 1617, in which that divine attempted to justify a loan which the king had demanded, and advanced many obnoxious principles, he was immediately suspended from all his functions as primate, which were devolved on a commission of five bishops, of whom Laud, the archbishop's enemy, and afterwards his successor, was one. He did not, however, remain long in this situation, for a parliament being absolutely necessary, he was sent for, and restored to his authority and jurisdiction ; though he never fully recovered the royal favour, and, upon the birth of the prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II., his rival, Laud, had the honour to perform the ceremony of baptism, as dean of the chapel. Worn out with cares and infirmities, the good archbishop expired at Croydon, on the 5th of August, 1633, in the 71st year of his age. Agreeably to his own desire, he was buried in the church of the Holy Trinity at Guildford, where a stately monument was erected over the grave, bearing his effigy in his robes.

The public character of Archbishop Abbot has been variously estimated by different writers. Clarendon has treated him with considerable severity ; but Welwood has done more justice to his merits and abilities. The former says of him :—"He had been head or master of one of the poorest colleges in Oxford, and had learning sufficient for that province. He was a man of very morose manners, and a very sour aspect, which at that time was called gravity ; made

bishop before he had been a parson, vicar, or curate, of any parish church of England, or dean, or prebend of any cathedral church; and was, in truth, totally ignorant of the true constitution of the church of England, and the state and interest of the clergy, as sufficiently appears through the whole course of his life. He considered the Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred or reviled popery; and valued those men most who did that most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the church, or the conformity to the articles or canons established, he made little inquiry, and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in ancient and solid study of divinity; he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and for his sake did not think so ill of the discipline as he ought to have done.”<sup>1</sup> Dr Welwood thus characterises the archbishop:—“He was a person of wonderful temper and moderation, and in all his conduct showed an unwillingness to stretch the act of uniformity beyond what was absolutely necessary for the peace of the church or the prerogative of the crown. Being not well turned for a court, though otherwise of considerable learning, he was either unwilling or incapable to submit to the humour of the times, and now and then, by an unseasonable stiffness, gave occasion to his enemies to represent him as not well inclined to the prerogative, or too much addicted to popular interest, and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of government.” He appears to have been a learned and a conscientious man,—moderate, upon the whole, in his conduct to all parties, and sincerely desirous to promote purity of manners, and soundness of doctrine among the clergy. In his religious opinions he was a rigid Calvinist. The following is a list of his works, as given in Chalmers’ Biographical Dictionary:—1st. *Quæstiones sex, totidem prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniæ, pro forma habitis, discussæ et disceptatæ, anno 1597, in quibus e Sacra Scriptura et Patribus, quid statuendum sit definitur.* Oxon, 1598, 4to.—reprinted in 1616 at Frankfort. 2d. *Exposition on the Prophet Jonah*, contained in certain sermons preached in St Marie’s church, in Oxford, 1600.—4to. 3d. *Answer to the Questions of the Citizens of London*, in January, 1600, concerning Cheapside Cross; not printed until 1641. 4th. *The Reasons which Dr Hill hath brought for the upholding of Papistry, unmasked, and showed to be very weak, &c.* Oxon, 1604, 4to. 5th. *A Preface to the examination of George Sprot, &c.* 6th. *Sermon preached at Westminster, May 26, 1608, at the funeral of Thomas, earl of Dorset, late lord-high-treasurer of England, on Isaiah xl. 6.* 1608.—4to. 7th. *Translation of a part of the New Testament, with the rest of the Oxford divines*, 1611. 8th. *Some Memorials touching the nullity between the earl of Essex and his lady, pronounced September 25, 1613, at Lambeth; and the dif-*

<sup>1</sup> The learned translator of Mosheim censures Lord Clarendon’s account of this eminent prelate as most unjust and partial; and in a long note, ably and judiciously appreciates the archbishop’s merit and excellence. It was, he shows, by the zeal and dexterity of Abbot, that things were put into such a situation in Scotland as afterward produced the entire establishment of the episcopal order in that nation. It was by the mild and prudent counsels of Abbot, when he was chaplain to the lord-high-treasurer Dunbar, that there was passed a famous act of the general assembly of Scotland, which gave the king the authority of calling all general assemblies, and investing the bishops, or their deputies, with various powers of interference and influence over the Scotch ministers. These facts confute the charge of his disregarding the constitution of the church.

faculties endured in the same. 9th. *A Brief Description of the Whole World*, wherein is particularly described all the monarchies, empires, and kingdoms of the same, with their academies, &c. 1617, 4to., frequently reprinted. 10th. *A Short Apology for Archbishop Abbot*, touching the death of Peter Hawkins, dated October 8, 1621. 11th. *Treatise of perpetual visibility and succession of the true church in all ages*. London, 1624, 4to.; published without his name; but his arms impaled with those of Canterbury, are put before it. 12th. *A Narrative*, containing the true cause of his sequestration and disgrace at court, in two parts; written at Ford, in Kent, 1627—printed in Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, vol. 1. p. 438—461, and in *Annals of King Charles*, p. 213—224. 13th. *History of the Massacre in the Valteline*—printed in the third volume of *Fox's Acts and Monuments*. 14th. *Judgment on bowing at the name of Jesus*. Hamburg, 1632, 8vo.

ROBERT ABBOT, bishop of Salisbury, and elder brother of the former, was born at Guilford, in Surrey, in 1560, and educated at the same school and college with George. He soon became a celebrated preacher, and was chosen lecturer at Worcester, and subsequently rector of All Saints in that city. In 1597, he took the degree of D.D., and in the beginning of James's reign was appointed one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary. The pedantic monarch was so well pleased with the doctor's book, '*De Antichristo*,' that he ordered it to be printed along with his own '*Paraphrase on the Apocalypse*,' "by which," says Granger, "he paid himself a much greater compliment than he did the doctor." In 1609 he was elected master of Baliol college; in 1610 he was made prebendary of Normanton; and in 1612 he was appointed regius professor of divinity at Oxford. His vindication of the supreme power of kings, against Bellarmine and Suarez, gave his royal master great satisfaction, and obtained for him the see of Salisbury, in 1615, which, however, he did not long enjoy; his sedentary life and intensely studious habits having brought upon him the disease of gravel, of which he died on the 2d of March, 1618, in the 58th year of his age. His remains were interred in Salisbury cathedral. He wrote:—1st. *The Mirror of Popish Subtleties*. Lond. 1594, 4to. 2d. *The Exaltation of the Kingdom and Priesthood of Christ*—sermons on the first seven verses of the 110th Psalm.—Lond. 1601, 4to. 3d. *Antichristi Demonstratio, contra Fabulas Pontificias, et ineptam Rob. Bellarmini de Antichristo Disputationem*. Lond. 1603, 4to. 4th. *Defence of the Reformed Catholic of Mr W. Perkins against the Bastard Counter Catholic of Dr William Bishop, seminary priest*; in three parts, 1606, 4to. 5th. *The Old Way*; a sermon at St Mary's Oxon. Lond. 1610, 4to. 6th. *The true ancient Roman Catholic*; being an apology against Dr Bishop's *Reproof of the Defence of the Reformed Catholic*, 1611, 4to. 7th. *Antilogia; adversus Apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon-Johannis, Jesuite, pro Henrico Garnetto, Jesuita Proditore*. Lond. 1613, 4to. 8th. *De Gratia et Perseverantia Sanctorum, Exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxon.* Lond. 1618, 4to. 9th. *In Ricardi Thomsoni Angli-Belgici Diatribam, de Amissione et Intercessionem Justificationis et gratiæ, Animadversio brevis*. Lond. 1618, 4to. 10th. *De Suprema Potestate Regia Exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxoniensi contra Rob. Bellaminum et Franciscum Suarez*. Lond. 1619, 4to. He

likewise wrote several commentaries on the Scriptures, which were never printed ; among these is a Latin commentary on the epistle to the Romans, in four volumes folio, in which we are assured by the English editors of Bayle, "the learned prelate has shown his great skill in polemical divinity in every article which admits of controversy." Comparing the merits of the two brothers, Fuller remarks that "George was the more plausible preacher, Robert the greater scholar ; George was the abler statesman, Robert the deeper divine."

### William Ames.

BORN A. D. 1576.—DIED A. D. 1633.

WILLIAM AMES, OR AMESIUS, was a very learned and distinguished puritan divine, descended from an ancient and honourable family in Norfolk. He was born in 1576, and educated at Christ's college, Cambridge. Here he attached himself to the celebrated theologian of the Calvinistic school, Mr W. Perkins. But his tenets proved the bar to his advancement, and after suffering some troubles, he left that university, and went to Friesland, where his learning and polemical skill soon obtained for him the distinction of a professorship in the university of Franeker. He mingled in most of the theological controversies of the age, and was looked up to with much respect by all learned men of the protestant church. He continued his divinity professorship for twelve years, when, finding the locality of Franeker incongenial with his constitutional complaint, which was an asthma, he removed to Rotterdam, where he became pastor of the English congregation. Here he had a dispute with Grevinchovius, a minister of that place, which appeared in print about 1613. He attended at the synod of Dort, and communicated to the English ambassador from time to time a full report of the debates of that assembly. One of his most celebrated works was directed against the famous popish author, Cardinal Bellarmine. The work is entitled, 'Bellarminus Enervatus,' and is a specimen of the most condensed and comprehensive argumentation which was perhaps ever directed against the church of Rome. Though a single and very small volume, it contains every material point in the popish controversy. It was written in Latin, and published at Amsterdam, 1628. He wrote many other works in Latin. These were all collected and reprinted in five vols. 8vo. in 1658, at Amsterdam. His English works were also numerous, but mostly controversial. Finding the religious affairs of his native country by no means inviting, nor likely to admit his return, he had formed the design of following many of his puritan brethren to New England, and probably would have done so the ensuing spring, but he was cut off in the winter of 1633, at the age of 57.

## Joseph Mede, B.D.

BORN A. D. 1586.—DIED A. D. 1638.

JOSEPH MEDE was born, October, 1586, at Berden, near Bishop Stortford, Essex. His parents were persons of good reputation, and related to Sir John Mede of Lofts Hall, in that county, whose eldest son subsequently became the pupil of Mr Joseph Mede. Both himself and his father took the small-pox at the same time, when he was about ten years of age. The father died, but the son recovered, and was sent to school first at Hoddesden, and afterwards at Wetherfield, in Essex. About this period, Joseph, being in London, met with a copy of Bellarmine's Hebrew grammar, which he procured. Having taken it to school with him, his master endeavoured to dissuade him from the study of it, but such was his ardour in the acquisition of that language, that he made considerable progress in it, without the assistance of any tutor, before he left school. At the age of sixteen he was sent to the university of Cambridge, and entered at Christ's college as a pupil under Mr Daniel Rogers, and three years after under Mr William Addison. Having taken the degrees of B. A. and M. A., he was advanced by his tutor to the office of reader to his pupils, and moderator at their disputations. His high attainments and excellent character procured him much respect, not only in his own college, but throughout the university. During this period he laboured under great defects of utterance, which, by diligent attention and perseverance, he at length overcame. But his studies were embittered and impeded by a trial of a far worse and very different kind. In the chamber of a fellow-student he met with a book not named, which for a considerable time shook his confidence in first principles, and brought him near to Pyrrhonism. It was not without much difficulty that he was enabled to rid himself of this troublesome perplexity, and escape from the toils of universal scepticism. At length, however, he emerged from these clouds, and found his way back to the high way of truth and common sense. Henceforward, his course was happy and distinguished. He became celebrated for his knowledge of many languages, for mathematics, anatomy, and philosophy in general. His first production which excited attention was a Latin address to Dr Andrews, bishop of Ely and Winchester, '*De Sanctitate relativa*,' &c. This was afterwards published in a treatise on 1 Cor. xi. 22, and in his '*Concio ad Clerum*' on Levit. xix. 30. This address procured him the warm patronage of Bishop Andrews, who recommended him to a fellowship, and made him his household chaplain; but it appears Mr Mede declined serving the latter appointment, because it would have drawn him away from his studies. He met with formidable opposition in his election to the fellowship, on account of his Calvinistic principles, but ultimately succeeded. He was next chosen lecturer on Greek, on the foundation of Sir Walter Mildmay, and continued in this office through life. His labours were not, however, confined to his lectureship. He undertook the charge of pupils, and was both diligent and successful in the direction of their studies. But while thus engaged in assisting others, he was ardently employed in the augmentation of his own stores of know-

ledge in various departments ; languages, divinity, and natural history, were among his favourite pursuits. His propensity, however, for curious inquiries perverted him from the road of sound and useful knowledge, and led him often into the shadowy regions of astrology and onironism. These pursuits induced him to study with much assiduity the mysteries of the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and other nations, famous for recondite science. The direct results of these researches may indeed be said to have amounted just to a *caput mortuum*, but their collateral effects were both interesting and important. He was led to pursue the study of antiquities and of chronology, and from these he entered upon the arduous task of prophetic and apocalyptic interpretation. It is by his attainments and skill in this department that he is principally known to posterity. In such repute was he for a profound knowledge of ancient history and chronology, that Archbishop Usher requested his assistance when he undertook to settle the sacred chronology, and so high a sense of regard did the archbishop bear him that, some time after, he recommended him to the provostship of Trinity college, Dublin, and twice procured him the offer of it ; but such was Mr Mede's love of retirement, that he declined the offer, and requested only some small donative to his fellowship, or to have a place in some collegiate church or rural college.

He continued patiently pursuing his studies till the age of fifty-two, scarcely ever leaving the walls of his college—rarely troubling himself with those things which most agitate and interest mankind. In September, 1638, he was suddenly taken ill after dinner, and retiring to his chamber alone, sat down in a chair, but soon after fainted, and fell upon the floor, near the fire, where he was sometime after found by a friend who happened to come to his apartment. After this, it appears, he fell into the hands of unskilful physicians, and died in two days. Of his character, all who have written speak in the highest terms. He lived very much the life of a recluse, but was a man of amiable and cheerful habits, loving society, at least of that particular kind which met his taste, and delighting in nothing so much as in the converse of wise and good men. He appears to have inherited no private property, but was enabled, from his college and professional emoluments, to be extensively charitable, and leave at his death some legacies for the benefit of the poor, his relatives and his college. As an author, he has enjoyed the singular felicity of founding a new school, or new department of sacred study, in which he has enjoyed an undisputed mastership, and an advancing fame. He is the father of all those that handle the mysterious harp of inspired prophecy. During his lifetime he published only three treatises. The first entitled, '*Clavis Apocalyptica ex innatis et insitis visionum characteribus eruta et demonstrata*;' to which he added, in 1632, '*In Sancti Joannis Apocalypsin Commentarius*.' This is the largest and most elaborate of any of his writings. The other two, which were published during his lifetime, were but short tracts, and upon not very interesting subjects,—the one being on the word *ἁγιαρχναι*, the name given anciently to the sacramental table ; and the other on the churches or places of worship in the apostolic and succeeding times. His other works, which were left in manuscript, were edited by Dr Worthington, and appeared in folio 1672, with a full life of the author. The whole works are divided into five books, and dis-

posed in the following order :—The first contains fifty-three discourses on various texts of scripture, most of them very short, often critical and learned, and fitter to entertain students of theology than to be delivered in the course of public instruction. There is, however, some sound and useful criticism in these discourses. The second book contains a number of treatises on subjects connected with places of public worship, and several such matters of Christian antiquity, all of them learned and able, but manifesting vastly too much deference for the opinions and reasonings of the early fathers. For what figment of the imagination, what pestilent fancy of superstition, what perversion of reason and common sense, may not be “ferretted out of that dusty cupboard of antiquity?” The third book contains his treatises on the prophetic Scriptures, viz., the Apocalyptic Key and Commentaries—some small tracts regarding the Apocalypse—a Paraphrase of the 3d chap. of 2d Epistle of Peter—The Apostacy of the latter times—Daniel’s Weeks, with two tracts upon Daniel. The fourth book contains letters by Mr Mede in answer to learned men who had written to him respecting his opinions. The fifth book contains Sacred fragments, or Miscellanies of Divinity. Several of his principal works are in Latin.

The whole display the great learning and ingenuity of the author, though frequently without affording the reader satisfaction and repose of mind in the results. Mede, with Dr Henry More, expected the personal reign of Christ, and may be said to have done more to systematize and fortify those opinions than any other writer, whether of ancient or modern times. His views have been adopted, corrected, and repropagated in various forms, suited to the meridian of the particular age, by many writers, at intervals down to the present day. Eras have been calculated upon Mede’s data and principia, when the Messiah was certainly to appear. All these writers seemed equally plausible in their predictions, and all equally positive of their verification, but their chosen eras have all passed away, one after another, and yet the Millennium they foresaw has not approached. Mede, however, is a modest inquirer, in comparison with the dogmatists who have followed him in this time. He criticises—they prophecy; he reasons—they divine.<sup>1</sup>

### Bishop Davenant.

BORN CIRC. A. D. 1572.—DIED A. D. 1641.

JOHN DAVENANT, bishop of Salisbury, was descended from the ancient family of the Davenants of Sible-Heningham in Essex. He was born in London, where his father was an eminent merchant. On the 4th of July, 1587, he was admitted of Queen’s college, Cambridge. His father left him a large fortune, in addition to which he was admitted to a fellowship in 1597. In 1609, he became D.D., and was elected Lady Margaret’s professor of Divinity, which chair he filled till 1621.

“In 1613—14, a Royal party visiting Cambridge, on occasion of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with the Prince Palatine Fre-

<sup>1</sup> Life prefixed to his works.—Middleton’s Biog. Evan.



deric, and an entertainment being given to them, Davenant was selected as Moderator, in the theological disputation, which, according to the custom of the age, then occurred. In the following year, on a similar occasion, another public disputation took place between some chief divines of England and of the Palatinate, among whom the Heidelburgh professor, Abraham Scultetus, distinguished himself. The Margaret professor was then also appointed Moderator. The questions discussed, as we learn from Nicholl's *Progresses of James I.*, were these three: 'Nulla est temporalis Papæ potestas supra reges, in ordine ad bonum spirituale. Infallibilis fidei determinatio non est annexa cathedræ papali. Cæca obedientia est illicita.' The excellent, but pedantic Bishop Hacket, in his *Life of Archbishop Williams*, records these academical feats with great vivacity. Speaking of one super-eminent disputant, Dr Collins, he thus proceeds:—'He was a firm bank of earth, able to receive the shot of the greatest artillery. His works in print, against Eudæmon and Fitzherbert, sons of Anak among the Jesuits, do noise him far and wide. But they that heard him speak would most admire him. No flood can be compared to the spring-tide of his language and eloquence, but the milky river of Nilus, with his seven mouths all at once disemboguing into the sea. O how voluble! how quick! how facetious he was! What a Vertumnus when he pleased to argue on the right side, and on the contrary. Those things will be living to the memory of the longest survivor that ever heard him. In this trial, wherein he stood now to be judged by so many attic and exquisite wits, he strived to exceed himself, and shewed his cunning marvellously that he could invalidate every argument brought against him with variety of answers. It was well for all sides, that the best divine, in my judgment, that ever was in that place, Dr Davenant, held the reins of the disputation. He kept him within the even boundals of the cause; he charmed him with the Caducæan wand of dialectical prudence; he ordered him to give just weight, and no more. Horat. l. 1. Od. 3. 'Quo non arbiter Adriæ major, tollere seu ponere vult freta.' Such an arbiter as he was now, such he was and no less, year by year, in all comital disputations; wherein whosoever did well, yet constantly he had the greatest acclamation. To the close of all this exercise, I come. The grave elder opponents having had their courses, Mr Williams, a new admitted bachelor of divinity, came to his turn, last of all. Presently, there was a smile in the face of every one that knew them both, and a prejudging that between these two there would be a fray indeed. Both jealous of their credit, both great masters of wit; and as much was expected from the one as from the other. So they fell to it with all quickness and pertinacity; yet, thank the Moderator, with all candour; like Fabius and Marcellus, the one was the buckler, the other the sword of that learned exercise. No greyhound did ever give a hare more turns upon Newmarket heath, than the replier with his subtleties gave to the respondent. A subject fit for the verse of Mr Abraham Hartwell, in his *Regina Literata*, as he extols Dr Pern's arguments made before Queen Elizabeth: 'Quis fulmine tanto tela jacet? tanto fulmine nemo jacet.' But when they had both done their best with equal prowess, the marshal of the field, Dr Davenant, cast down his warder between them, and parted them.'

<sup>1</sup> Allport's Memoir.

In October 1614, he was chosen master of his college. In 1618, he was sent by King James as one of his four delegates to the synod of Dort. Upon the death of his brother-in-law, Dr Robert Townson, he was nominated bishop of Salisbury in 1621.

Bishop Davenant continued in favour at court during the life of James; but in the Lent of 1630, he incurred the royal displeasure for some strictures in which he had indulged in a sermon preached at Whitehall on the predestinarian controversy. Charles had been pleased strictly to forbid "all curious search" into this point of doctrine, Davenant defended himself on the ground, that he had advanced nothing contrary to the 17th article of the church. But on being informed that it was not his majesty's pleasure he should ever touch upon the question of predestination, he apologised for his mistake, and promised never more to offend in this way.

Davenant was a man of great learning, and published several theological works which continue in repute to the present day. His 'Expositio Epistolæ D. Pauli ad Colossenses,' is reckoned a masterpiece of expository divinity. It was published at Cambridge in 1627, and republished in 1630 and 1639. A quarto edition was published at Amsterdam in 1646. It has been recently translated by the Rev. Josiah Allport, in 2 vols. 8vo.

"Few men," says Mr Allport, "appear to have been more honoured and venerated by all parties than Bishop Davenant. In all the works of friends or opponents, there is not to be found a single sentence approaching even to disrespect, much less any thing that can tend to cast the slightest reflexion upon his deportment in any measure of his public or private life. His profound learning, acuteness of intellect, catholic spirit, active benevolence, and meekness, are constantly adverted to; and the phrases—'the good Bishop Davenant,' the 'excellent Bishop Davenant,' the 'learned Bishop Davenant,' &c. &c. are the usual appendages to his name, even in the writings of those who took up the pen in express hostility to certain of his theological views"

## Bishop Bedell.

BORN A. D. 1570.—DIED A. D. 1642.

WILLIAM BEDELL, an eminent bishop of the 17th century, was descended from an ancient family in Essex, and was born at Black Notley, in that county, in 1570. He finished his studies at Emanuel college, Cambridge, of which he was chosen fellow in 1593; in 1599 he became bachelor of divinity. He was ordained by the suffragan bishop of Colchester, and on leaving the university, he was settled at St Edmond's Bury, in Suffolk, where he laboured in the ministry of the gospel with much success. On Sir Henry Wotton's being appointed ambassador to the Venetian republic, Bedell accompanied him in the capacity of chaplain; and arriving at Venice at a period when the disputes between the Venetians and the pope had run so high that the former were on the point of dissenting from the Romish communion, he formed a close intimacy with the celebrated father, Paul Sarpi, the principal leader in that struggle against ecclesiastical despotism.

With Bedell's assistance, Father Paul acquired such a knowledge of the English language, as to be able to translate the book of Common Prayer into his vernacular tongue. This he did, it is thought, in the intention, should the existing quarrel with the pope terminate in separation, of making it the model for a new ritual. While at Venice, Bedell acquired an intimate knowledge of the Hebrew, by the aid of the rabbi who was at the head of the Jewish synagogue in that place.

After eight years' stay at Venice, Bedell returned to England, and assumed his parochial duties. He also assisted in publishing a translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, his History of the Interdict, and also that of the Inquisition. Soon afterwards he was presented to the living of Honingsheath, in the diocese of Norwich, on which occasion he successfully resisted an exorbitant demand by the bishop for induction fees. At this latter place Bedell remained for twelve years, wholly devoted to his pastoral duties, and such was the retirement in which he lived, that Diodati, an eminent Genoese divine, who had known him at Venice, visiting England at that time, in vain inquired for him, and at last met with him merely by accident. His worth and talents, however, gradually became known, and in 1626 he was unanimously elected provost of Trinity college, Dublin. In this new office he sedulously set himself to correct existing abuses, and undertook particularly the religious instruction of the college. In 1624, he had published a controversial correspondence betwixt himself and a Mr Wadsworth, who had been a fellow-student of his own, and had also held a living in the same diocese, but who, having gone to Spain as chaplain to the English ambassador, had renounced Protestantism and embraced the Catholic faith. A 2d edition of these letters was published in 1685.

In 1629, he was appointed bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh,\* in the province of Ulster. When he entered upon his diocese, he found it in a great disorder; its revenues had been dissipated, its cathedral and parish churches were in a state of dilapidation; more than nine-tenths of the people were papists; and of the few clergymen who were capable of assisting him, each had several parishes to serve. In this state of matters, he fearlessly applied himself to the work of reformation. His first step was to abolish pluralities, and having set the example himself by resigning the see of Ardagh, which had been united to that of Kilmore, on account of the scantiness of the revenues of both, his clergy, with a single exception, relinquished their pluralities also. With great difficulty he accomplished the reform of his own spiritual court; he also abolished various oppressive exactions which his predecessors had practised. For the instruction and conversion of the natives, he caused a short catechism of the elements of Christianity in English and Irish, to be printed and widely circulated; he also established schools in every parish of his diocese, and having himself acquired the Irish language, he composed a complete grammar of it. The New Testament, as well as the Book of Common Prayer, had been already translated into Irish: Bishop Bedell was desirous that the people should possess the whole Bible in their native tongue, and with this view employed a person of the name of King, a converted papist, who was deemed the best Irish scholar of his day. King was then about 70 years of age, but the bishop finding him qualified for the clerical office,

admitted him to orders, gave him a benefice, and employed him in the projected translation, himself revising the work. Having finished it in a few years, he was about to print it at his own expense ; but, strange to say, was thwarted in his noble design by the opposition of some of his clerical brethren, among whom was Archbishop Laud ; and so bitter was the hostility excited by this effort of our bishop, that on the ground of some trivial delinquency on the part of King, the translator, he was instantly deprived of his living, which was bestowed on the informer. The bishop would now have printed the Bible in his own house, but before he could put his design into execution, the rebellion broke out, and tranquillity was not restored to the country when Bedell himself was called to a better world. The manuscript copy of his translation, however, was saved amidst the general confusion, but was not printed until the reign of King William, when the Hon. Robert Boyle, into whose hands the manuscript had fallen, besides reprinting the New Testament, printed King's translation of the Old, both at his own expense.

A few years before his death, Bishop Bedell was engaged in an amicable controversy with Dr Ward on the subject of baptism. The bishop was a Calvinist in sentiment, but took a warm interest in the design of reconciling the Lutherans and Calvinists. He died on the 7th of February 1642, in the 71st year of his age. Great numbers of the natives attended his funeral, and fired a volley over his grave, crying out at the same time, "*Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum!*" In his person, Bishop Bedell was tall and graceful, he wore a long and broad beard, which gave him a very venerable appearance. His eyesight sustained no decay from age, and his judgment and memory continued unimpaired to the last.<sup>1</sup>

### Archbishop Laud.

BORN A. D. 1573.—DIED A. D. 1644.

WILLIAM LAUD, archbishop of Canterbury, was the son of a clothier at Reading, in Berkshire, where he was born in the year 1573. He received the elements of instruction at the free school of his native place, whence he removed to St John's college, Oxford, in 1590. He took priest's orders in 1601, and in the following year preached a divinity lecture in his college, in which he maintained the perpetual visibility of the church of Rome till the reformation,—a doctrine which, he conceived, was necessary to support that of the perpetual visibility of the church of Christ upon earth. His sentiments on this point were strongly censured by Abbot, then vice-chancellor of the university, which laid the foundation of that animosity which Laud afterwards exhibited towards the archbishop. His first preferment was the vicarage of Stamford, in Northamptonshire, which he obtained in 1607. In the following year, he commenced D.D., and was appointed chaplain to Neile, bishop of Rochester. He was made king's chaplain on the 3d of November, 1611. In 1616, the king made him dean of Gloucester.

<sup>1</sup> Life by Burnet.—Christian Observer, vol. xv.—Bayle and Ed.

On the 29th of June, 1621, he was advanced to the see of St David's, with express permission, on the part of the king, to hold the presidency of St John's *in commendam*, but he resigned the latter office the day before his consecration. Next year, at the king's command, he held a conference with Fisher, the jesuit, which was soon afterwards published. It seems but fair here to notice the terms in which Laud speaks of the church of Rome, and the manner in which he rejects the accusation under which he knew he laboured at this period. "Should I practice, (he says himself,) to superinduce Romish tyranny and superstition over the true religion established in England, I have taken a very wrong way to it. For I have hindered as many from going to the Roman party, and have reduced as many from it, and some of great quality, and some of great learning and judgment," [among whom the famous William Chillingworth,] "as I believe any divine in England hath done. And is this the way to bring in Romish superstition? To reduce men from it? Or is this the reward from the state which men must look for that have done these services?" Again, in reference to his work against Fisher, which was printed in April, 1623, he says: "The book which I have written against Mr Fisher, the Jesuit, must of necessity either acquit me of this calumny, or proclaim me a villain to the world. And I hope I have so lived as that men have not that opinion of me; sure I am I have not deserved it. And had this book of mine been written according to the garb of the time, fuller of railing than reason, a learned Jesuit would have laughed at it and me, and a learned Protestant might have thought I had written it only to conceal myself and my judgment in those difficulties. But being written in the way it is, I believe no Romanist will have much cause to joy at it, or to think me a favourer of their cause. And since I am thus put to it, I will say thus much more: This book of mine is so written (by God's great blessing upon me) as that whensoever the church of England (as they are growing towards it apace) shall depart from the grounds which I have therein laid, she shall never be able, before any learned and disengaged Christian, to make good her difference with and separation from the church of Rome. And let no man think I speak pride or vanity in this, for the outrages which have been made against me force me to say it; and I am confident future times will make it good, unless profaneness break in, and overrun the whole kingdom, which is not a little to be feared."—*Troubles, &c.* p. 160. Under the date February 4, 1622-3, page 9th of his Diary, we have this entry; "Wednesday, my conference held with Fisher the Jesuit, May 24, 1622, and put in writing at the command of King James, having been before read to the king, was this day put into the press, being licensed by the bishop of London. I had not hitherto appeared in print. I am no controvertist. May God so love and bless my soul as I desire and endeavour that all the never to be enough deplored distractions of the church may be composed happily, and to the glory of his name." Dr Grey has added the testimonies of Mr Edward Deering and Limborch to the negative evidence of Fisher's answer, in order to make out an exculpatory proof for Laud. But it is quite impossible to clear Laud, when archbishop, of the serious charge of symbolizing with the church of Rome in its two leading features, superstition and intolerance. May says, "not only the pomps of cere-

monies were daily increased, and innovations of great scandal brought into the church ; but, in point of doctrine, many fair approaches made towards Rome. Even Heylin says, the doctrines are altered in many things ; as, for example, the pope not anti-christ, pictures, free-will, &c. the thirty-nine articles seeming patient, if not ambitious also, of some catholic sense."

On the death of James, in 1625, Laud was appointed to supply the place of the dean of Westminster at the coronation of the new king. Lake, bishop of Bath and Wells, died in May, 1626, and in July Laud was appointed to succeed him. On the 17th of June, 1628, he was advanced to the see of London. One of the bishop's first enterprises, after his translation to London, says Neal, was to stifle the predestinarian controversy, for which purpose he procured the thirty-nine articles to be reprinted, with the following declaration at the head of them.

BY THE KING.

"Being by God's ordinance, and our just title, defender of the faith, &c. within these dominions, we hold it agreeable to our kingly office, for the preservation of unity and peace, not to suffer any unnecessary disputations which may nourish faction in the church or commonwealth : we, therefore, with the advice of our bishops, declare, that the articles of the church of England which the clergy generally have subscribed, do contain the true doctrine of the church of England, agreeable to God's word, which we do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all our loving subjects to continue in the uniform profession thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said articles. We take comfort in this, that all clergymen within our realm have always most willingly subscribed the articles, which is an argument that they all agree, in the true usual literal meaning of them ; and that in those curious points, in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the articles to be for them, which is an argument again, that none of them intend any desertion of the articles established : wherefore we will, that all curious search into these things be laid aside, and these disputes be shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the articles according to them ; and that no man hereafter preach or print to draw the article aside any way, but shall submit to it, in the plain and full manner thereof, and shall not put his own sense or comment to the meaning of the article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense : that if any public reader in the universities, or any other person, shall affix any new sense to any article, or shall publicly read, or hold disputation on either side ; or if any divine in the universities shall preach or print any thing either way, they shall be liable to censure in the ecclesiastical commission, and we will see there shall be due execution upon them."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This declaration, Dr Harris observes, has been produced and canvassed in the famous Bangorian and Trinitarian controversies, which engaged the attention of the public for a great number of years. *Life of Charles I.* p. 183—190. Dr Blackburne has at large discussed the validity of it, and is disposed to consider James I. as the first publisher of it. He shows that it has been corrupted by the insertion of the word *now* ; as, "we will not endure any varying, or departing, in the least degree, from the doctrine and discipline of the church of England now established ;" a language, he justly observes, inconsistent with the principles of our present constitution. *Confessional*, p. 131—143. 3d edit.—*Toutain*.

“Surely,” exclaims Neal, and with good reason, “there never was such a confused and unintelligible declaration printed before !” It was made to serve its purpose, however : “In pursuance of his majesty’s declaration, all books relating to the Arminian controversy were called in by proclamation and suppressed, and among others, Montague’s and Manwaring’s, which was only a feint to cover a more deadly blow to be reached at the Puritans ; for at the same time Montague and Manwaring received the royal pardon, and were preferred to some of the best livings in the kingdom (as has been observed), while the answer to their books, by Dr Featly, Dr Goad, Mr Burton, Ward, Yates, and Rouse, were not only suppressed, but the publishers questioned in the star-chamber. The king put on the same thin disguise with regard to Papists ; as proclamation was issued out against priests and Jesuits, and particularly against the bishop of Chalcedon ; orders were also sent to the lord-mayor of London, to make search after them, and commit them to prison, but at the same time his majesty appointed commissioners to compound with them for their recusancy ; so that instead of being suppressed, they became a branch of the revenue, and Sir Richard Weston, a notorious Papist, was created earl of Portland, and made lord-high-treasurer of England.”

In 1630, occurred the disgraceful prosecution and sentence of Dr Alexander Leighton, the father of the worthy and celebrated prelate of that name. “This divine,” says Neal, “had published, during the last session of parliament, an ‘Appeal to the parliament ; or, Zion’s plea against prelacy,’ wherein he speaks not only with freedom, but with very great rudeness and indecency against bishops ; calling them ‘men of blood,’ and saying, ‘that we do not read of a greater persecution and higher indignities done towards God’s people in any nation than in this, since the death of Queen Elizabeth.’ He calls the prelacy of the church ‘antichristian.’ He declaims vehemently against the canons and ceremonies ; and adds, that ‘the church has her laws from the Scripture, and that no king may make laws for the house of God.’ He styles the queen a daughter of Heth, and concludes with saying, what a pity it is that so ingenious and tractable a king should be so monstrously abused by the bishops, to the undoing of himself and his subjects. Now, though the warmth of these expressions can no ways be justified, yet let the reader consider whether they bear any proportion to the sentence of the court. The cause was tried June 4, 1630. The defendant, in his answer, owned the writing of the book, denying any ill intention ; his design being only to lay these things before the next parliament for their consideration. Nevertheless, the court adjudged unanimously, that for this offence, ‘the doctor should be committed to the prison of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of £10,000 ; that the high-commission should degrade him from his ministry ; and that then he should be brought to the pillory at Westminster, while the court was sitting, and be whipped ; after whipping, be set upon the pillory a convenient time, and have one of his ears cut off, one side of his nose slit, and be branded in the face with a double S. S. for a sower of sedition : that then he should be carried back to prison, and after a few days be pilloried a second time in Cheapside, and be there likewise whipped, and have the other side of his nose slit, and his other ear cut off, and then be shut up in a close prison for the remainder

of his life.' Bishop Laud pulled off his cap while this merciless sentence was pronouncing, and gave God thanks for it!"

When Charles visited Scotland, he was attended, throughout his whole progress, by Laud, who had now become desirous to introduce the English liturgy into Scotland. On this occasion Laud preached before the king in the royal chapel at Edinburgh, and embraced the opportunity to enlarge on the excellencies of episcopacy, and of the ceremonies of the church. The death of Abbot at last raised Laud to the summit of his ambition: two days after the archbishop's demise, Laud was translated to the sea of Canterbury. One of the first acts of the new primate was the republication of King James's infamous declaration of the year 1618, concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays after divine service. Countenanced by such grave authority, things went merrily on for a time: "the court had their balls, masquerades, and plays, on the Sunday evenings; while the youth of the country were at their morrice dances, May-games, church and clerk ales, and all such kind of revellings." A series of suspensions, fines, and imprisonments followed; for many refused to obey the archbishop's injunction to read the declaration from the pulpit. The archbishop next set himself to render the book of Common-Prayer "more unexceptionable to the papists, and more distant from puritanism." Having succeeded tolerably well in this pious task; and got some quiet from the incessant railings of his arch-enemies, Prynne and Bastwick, by having them fined, pilloried, and imprisoned, he turned his thoughts against the Calvinists in Ireland, and resolved to confer the benefit of the articles of the church of England, with his own ceremonial amendments, on that kingdom. In this design he was opposed by Archbishop Usher, who moved in convocation, that their own articles, ratified by King James in 1615, might be confirmed; but the motion was rejected, and the primate of England triumphed over his brother of Ireland. A harder task awaited him in Scotland.

The Scottish bishops had been ordered to prepare a book of service for their own use. The first liturgy of Edward VI. was made the basis and guide for the Scottish liturgy; but the compilers were instructed "to keep such Catholic saints in their calendar as were in the English, and that such new saints as were added should be the most approved, but in no case to omit St George and St Patrick; that in the book of orders, those words in the English book be not changed, 'receive ye the Holy Ghost;' and that sundry lessons out of the Apocrypha be inserted; besides these, the word presbyter was inserted instead of priest; and the water in the font for baptism was to be consecrated. There was a benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints; some passages in the communion were altered in favour of the real presence; the rubrics contained instructions to the people, when to stand and when to sit or kneel; to all which the Scots had hitherto been strangers. The main parts of the liturgy were the same with the English, that there might be an appearance of uniformity; it was revised, corrected, and altered, by Archbishop Laud and Bishop Wren, as appeared by the original found in the archbishop's chamber in the Tower, in which the alterations were inserted with his own hand."

This 'good work' being completed, was, together with a collection of canons, ratified by his majesty, and authorised by royal proclamation.



The fate of the book, however, is well known. An attempt to introduce it was made in the High-church of Edinburgh; but no sooner had the dean, in his surplice, begun to read the prayers from the desk, than a hideous noise was raised by the congregation, and the hapless dean assailed by a shower of stones and sticks. The bishop himself ascended the pulpit to remonstrate with the insurgents, but he too was quelled in his very 'pride of place,' by Jenny Geddes of famous memory, who launched a stool at his person, and compelled him to make a precipitate retreat from the church. The consequence of Laud's injudicious interference with the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, was the expulsion of his brother prelates from that end of the island altogether.

In November, 1640, parliament voted down the convocation, and declared its several constitutions and canons to be without any binding force on the clergy or laity of the land. A committee was then appointed, to inquire how far his grace of Canterbury had been concerned in the proceedings of the convocation, and in the treasonable design of subverting the religion and laws of his country. Next day, the Scots commissioners presented a series of charges against the archbishop. On the committee bringing up their report, several members pronounced severe censures on the archbishop. Amongst others, Sir Harbottle Grimstone declared that "this great man, the archbishop of Canterbury, was the very sty of all that pestilential filth that had infested the government; that he was the only man that had advanced those, who, together with himself, had been the authors of all the miseries the nation groaned under. That he had managed all the projects that had been set on foot for these ten years past, and had condescended so low as to deal in tobacco, by which thousands of poor people had been turned out of their trades, for which they served an apprenticeship; that he had been charged in this house, upon very strong proof, with designs to subvert the government, and alter the Protestant religion in this kingdom, as well as in Scotland; and there is scarce any grievance or complaint comes before the house, wherein he is not mentioned, like an angry wasp, leaving his sting in the bottom of every thing.' He therefore moved, that the charge of the Scots commissioners might be supported by an impeachment of their own; and, that the question might now be put, whether the archbishop had been guilty of high treason? which being voted, Mr Hollis was immediately sent up to the bar of the house of lords to impeach him in the name of the commons of England."

On the 26th of February, Pym, Hampden, and Maynard, presented the commons articles of impeachment against the archbishop at the bar of the house of lords. They consisted of fourteen articles. In the first he is charged with endeavouring to subvert the constitution, by introducing arbitrary power of government, without limitation or rule of law. In the second, he is charged with procuring sermons to be preached, and other pamphlets to be printed, in which the authority of parliaments is denied, and the absolute power of the king asserted to be agreeable to the law of God. The third article charges him with interrupting the course of justice, by messages, threatenings, and promises. The fourth, with selling justice in his own person, under colour of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and with advising his majesty to sell places of judicature, contrary to law. In the fifth, he is charged with

the canons and oath imposed on the subject by the late convocation. In the sixth, with robbing the king of supremacy, by denying the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be derived from the crown. In the seventh, with bringing in popish doctrines, opinions, and ceremonies, contrary to the articles of the church, and cruelly persecuting those who opposed them. In the eighth, he is charged with promoting persons to the highest and best preferments in the church, who are corrupt in doctrine and manners. In the ninth, with employing such for his domestic chaplains, as he knew to be popishly affected, and committing to them the licensing of books. The tenth article charges him with sundry attempts to reconcile the church of England with the church of Rome. The eleventh, with discountenancing of preaching, and with silencing, depriving, imprisoning, and banishing, sundry godly ministers. The twelfth, with dividing the church of England from the foreign protestant churches. The thirteenth, with being the author of all the late disturbances between England and Scotland. And the last, with endeavouring to bereave the kingdom of the legislative power, by alienating the king's mind from his parliaments. Upon these charges, the lords voted his grace to the Tower, whither he was carried on the 1st of March, amidst the shoutings and execrations of the populace. He remained in the Tower nearly three years, without petitioning for trial, or putting in answers to the charges. At last, the commons ordered the trial to be begun on the 12th of March, 1644. It lasted nearly five months. The principal managers were, Serjeant Maynard, one of the ablest lawyers of his age, Serjeant Wild, afterwards lord-chief-baron, and Samuel Browne, afterwards lord-chief-justice. The archbishop defended himself with considerable coolness and dexterity; but the bill of attainder passed with only one dissenting voice. The king interposed his pardon under the great seal, but it was over-ruled by both houses, on the grounds, first, that it had been granted before conviction, and secondly, that the king could not set aside a judgment of parliament.

On the 10th of January, 1644, Laud was beheaded on Tower-hill. He read a speech to the people from the scaffold, in which he acknowledged himself to have been a great sinner, but solemnly protested that before the tribunal of his own conscience he had not found any of his sins deserving death by any of the known laws of the kingdom. When the scaffold was cleared, he pulled off his doublet, and said, "God's will be done! I am willing to go out of the world; no man can be more willing to send me out." Then turning to the executioner he gave him some money, and bid him do his office in mercy; he then kneeled down, and after a short prayer, laid his head on the block, and said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" which being the sign, the executioner did his office at one blow. The archbishop's corpse was put into a coffin, and by the permission of parliament buried in Barking-church, with the service of the church read over him. The inscription upon the coffin was this, "*In hac cistula condunter Exuvie Gulielmi Laud, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, qui securi percussus immortalitatem adit, die x<sup>a</sup> Januarii, ætatis suæ 72, archiepiscopatus xii.*" But after the Restoration, his body was removed to Oxford, and deposited with great solemnity in a brick vault, according to his last will and testament, near the altar of the chapel of St John Baptist college, July 24, 1663. "Thus died," says Neal, "Dr William Laud, archbishop of Can-

terbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan; some time chancellor of the universities of Oxford and Dublin, one of the commissioners of his majesty's exchequer, and privy-councillor to the king, in the seventy-second year of his age, and twelfth of his archiepiscopal translation. He was of low stature, and a ruddy countenance; his natural temper was severe and uncourtly, his spirit active and restless, which pushed him on to the most hazardous enterprises. His conduct was rash and precipitate, for, according to Dr Heylin, he attempted more alterations in the church in one year, than a prudent man would have done in a great many. His counsels in state-affairs were high and arbitrary, for he was at the head of all the illegal projects, of ship-money, loans, monopolies, star-chamber fines, &c., which were the ruin of the king and constitution."

The character of Laud, except by his partial biographer, Heylin, and his canonizer, Dr Southey,<sup>1</sup> has been justly reprobated by writers of all parties. Warburton, himself, treats him with unmingled scorn. Thus, in the passage of Laud's diary, where he says, on the occasion of making Bishop Juxon lord-high-treasurer of England, "Now, if the church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more," Warburton contemptuously remarks, "Had he been content to do nothing, the church had stood. Suppose him to have been an honest man, and sincere—which, I think, must be granted—it will follow that he knew nothing of the constitution either of civil or religious society and was as poor a churchman as he was a politician." The same prelate adverts to Laud's persecution of Dr Williams and Mr Osbaldeston in the following terms:—"This prosecution must needs give every one a very bad idea of Laud's heart and temper. You might resolve his high acts of power, in the state, into reverence and gratitude to his master; his tyranny in the church, to his zeal for and love of what he called religion; but the outrageous prosecution of these two men can be resolved into nothing but envy and revenge." Still more decisive as to the character and habits of Laud is the testimony of another prelate, Archbishop Abbot. The following passage occurs in his narrative:—"This man (he was then bishop of St David's) is the only inward counsellor with Buckingham, sitting with him sometimes privately whole hours, and feeding his humour with malice and spight. His life in Oxford was, to pick quarrels in the lectures of the public readers, and to advertise them to the then bishop of Durham, that he might fill the ears of James with discontents against the honest men that took pains in their places, and settled the truth (which he called Puritanism) in their auditors. He made it his work to see what books were in the press, and to look over epistles dedicatory, and prefaces to the reader, to see what faults might be found. It was an observation, what a sweet man this was like to be, that the first observable act he did, was the marrying of the earl of D. to the lady R., when it was notorious to the world that she had another husband, and the same a nobleman, who had divers children then living by her. King James did for many years like this so ill, that he would never hear of any great preferment of him, insomuch that the bishop of Lincoln, Dr Williams, who taketh upon him to be the first promoter of him, hath many times said, that

<sup>1</sup> See 'Book of the Church.'

he, when he made mention of Laud to the king, his majesty was so averse from it, that he was constrained oftentimes to say, that he would never desire to serve that master, which could not remit one fault unto his servant. Well; in the end, he did conquer it to get him to the bishopric of St David's; which he had not long enjoyed, but he began to undermine his benefactor, as at this day it appeareth. The countess of Buckingham told Lincoln, that St David's was the man that undermined him with her son; and verily such is his aspiring nature, that he will underwork any man in the world, so that he may gain by it."

### William Chillingworth.

BORN A. D. 1602—DIED A. D. 1644.

THIS champion of protestantism was the son of William Chillingworth, mayor of Oxford. He was born in 1602. He received the rudiments of education at a private school in Oxford, then taught by Edward Sylvester, a celebrated pedagogue. In 1618, he was admitted of Trinity college, of which he became fellow in 1628. Wood says of him, at this period, that "he was observed to be no drudge at his study, but being a man of great parts, would do much in a little time when he settled to it. He would often walk in the college grove and contemplate; but when he met with any scholar there, he would enter into discourse, and dispute with him purposely to facilitate and make the way of wrangling common with him, which was a fashion used in these days, especially among the disputing theologists, or among those who set themselves apart purposely for divinity." Polemical divinity was at this time in much repute on account of the frequent controversies which arose betwixt the priests of the Roman church and the clergy of the church of England. The toleration which the former enjoyed towards the latter end of the reign of James I., and throughout that of his successor, emboldened them to make a stand for the recovery of their lost footing in the kingdom; and their efforts had been to a considerable extent successful in private families, and especially among the younger members of the universities. In 1628, we find parliament petitioning his majesty "to command a surer and strait watch to be kept in and over his majesty's ports and havens, and to commit the care and searching of ships,—for the discovery and apprehension, as well of Jesuits and seminary priests brought in, as of children and young students sent over beyond the seas, to suck in the poison of rebellion and superstition,—unto men of approved fidelity and religion." The king promised to attend to the wishes of his faithful commons in this matter; but the 'Jesuits and seminary priests' still continued to flock into the kingdom, without check or molestation. Amongst others, came one John Fisher, or Percy, a man of acute and vigorous intellect, who soon won over several illustrious converts to the faith of his church. The reputation which young Chillingworth at this time bore in the university drew upon him the attention of the wily and accomplished Jesuit. They met, and encountered each other on several contested points; but the youthful protestant was no match for

his dexterous antagonist; he wavered, and finally gave way, before the reasonings of his opponent. Fisher pursued his advantage, and at last succeeded in persuading Chillingworth to go over to the Jesuit college at Douay, for the purpose of having his mind finally settled in the faith of the church of Rome. It would appear, from a letter which the young convert to Romanism at this time addressed to Gilbert Sheldon, that the argument which had chiefly weighed with his mind in making the change he now did, was the necessity of an infallible living judge of controversy in matters of faith. "Let me entreat you," says he to his friend, "to consider most seriously of these two queries:—1. Whether it be not evident from scripture, and fathers, and reason,—from the goodness of God, and the necessity of mankind,—that there must be some one church infallible in matters of faith? 2. Whether there be any other society of men in the world, besides the church of Rome, that either can upon good warrant, or indeed at all, challenge to itself the privilege of infallibility in matters of faith.' "

The delusion under which our young divine at this moment laboured was not destined to last long. He resided but a short time abroad. His intellect was too vigorous to be long ruled over by the Jesuit fathers of Douay; within the space of two months he abandoned their society, returned to England, and commenced a diligent and unbiassed inquiry into the whole points of controversy betwixt catholics and protestants.

Chillingworth pursued his investigations with great calmness, and a fixed determination to follow out the truth wheresoever it might lead him. His candour exposed him to the charge of vacillation, which was bitterly made against him by Knott, one of his sturdiest opponents on the Jesuit side. Knott affected to represent Chillingworth as altogether destitute of fixed principles on almost any one point of religion,—as one who had changed "first from protestant to catholique, then from catholique to protestant, and then about again to catholique, till at last," he adds, "he be come to that passe that it is hard to say what he is: Neyther precisian, nor subscriber to the 39 articles, nor confessed Socinian, nor right Christian, according to the grounds which he hath laid. If you will believe himself, for matters of religion he is constant in nothing, but in following that way to heaven which for the present seems to him the most probable." Of the two ways which offered themselves to our inquirer's choice, few will now deem it a mark of weakness of judgment and infirmity of purpose that he preferred that of reason or inquiry, to that of authority or submission. But Chillingworth has nobly vindicated himself from the charge of inconsistency. Addressing his antagonist, Knott, he says:—"Neither truly were you more willing to effect such an alteration in me than I was to have it effected. For my desire is to go the right way to eternal happiness. But whether this way lie on the right hand or the left, or straight forwards; whether it be by following a living guide, or by seeking my direction in a book, or by hearkening to the secret whisper of some private spirit, to me it is indifferent. And he that is otherwise affected, and hath not a traveller's indifference, which Epictetus requires in all that would find the truth, but much desires in respect of his ease, or pleasure, or profit, or advancement, or satisfaction of friends, or any human consideration, that one way should be true rather than another;

it is odds but he will take his desire that it should be so, for an assurance that it is so. But I for my part, unless I deceive myself, was and still am so affected as I have made profession : not willing I confess to take any thing upon trust, and to believe it without asking myself why ; no, nor able to command myself (were I never so willing) to follow, like a sheep, every shepherd that should take upon him to guide me ; or every flock that should chance to go before me : but most apt and most willing to be led by reason to any way, or from it ; and always submitting all other reasons to this one, God hath said so, therefore it is true. Nor yet was I so unreasonable as to expect mathematical demonstrations from you in matters plainly incapable of them, such as are to be believed, and if we speak properly, cannot be known ; such therefore I expected not. For as he is an unreasonable master, who requires a stronger assent to his conclusions than his arguments deserve ; so I conceive him a froward and undisciplined scholar, who desires stronger arguments for a conclusion than the matter will bear. But had you represented to my understanding such reasons of your doctrine, as being weighed in an even balance, held by an even hand, with those on the other side, would have turned the scale, and have made your religion more credible than the contrary ; certainly I should have despised the shame of one more alteration, and with both mine arms and all my heart most readily have embraced it."

Our limits will not allow us to notice the numerous minor controversies in which Chillingworth was engaged previous to the publication of his great work, 'The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation.' We can only remark generally that in all of them, his mildness and equanimity of temper were as conspicuous as his honest love of truth, and the energy and clear-sightedness with which he pursued it through every maze of error and sophistry. The origin of the work for which Chillingworth's memory will ever be venerated by every sound protestant and lover of free and rational inquiry, was as follows:—The Jesuit, Knott, had put out, in 1630, a little work entitled 'Charity mistaken, with the want whereof Catholiques are unjustly charged, for affirming—as they do with grief—that Protestancy unrepented destroys salvation.' This book was answered by Dr Potter, provost of Queen's college, Oxford, in 1623 ; and Knott replied next year. Chillingworth undertook the task of finishing the controversy with Knott, and towards the latter end of the year 1637, published his work, under the title, 'The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation, or, an answer to a book entitled "Mercy and Faith, or Charity maintained by Catholiques," which pretends to prove the contrary.' The work was received with general applause, and two editions of it were published within less than five months—the first at Oxford, in 1638, in folio,—the second, with some small improvements, at London, the same year. A third edition appeared in 1664. The tenth and last edition is of the year 1742, with a life of Chillingworth, by Dr Birch, prefixed. It would be difficult to speak in terms of too high commendation of this performance. As a piece of argumentative divinity, it is certainly not surpassed in the whole compass of English theology. We cannot resist the opportunity now afforded us of making one noble quotation from this immortal work. The great principle maintained in it, that the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of protestants, ought to be

indelibly impressed on the minds of every professor of the protestant faith. "When I say," says he in his 6th chapter, "the religion of protestants, is in prudence to be preferred before yours : as on the one side I do not understand by your religion, the doctrine of Bellarmine or Baronius, or any other private man amongst you, nor the doctrine of the Sorbon, or of the Jesuits, or of the Dominicans, or of any other particular company among you, but that wherein you all agree, or profess to agree, the doctrine of the council of Trent : so, accordingly, on the other side, by the religion of protestants, I do not understand the doctrine of Luther, or Calvin, or Melancthon ; nor the confession of Augusta, or Geneva, nor the catechism of Heidelberg, nor the articles of the church of England, nor the harmony of protestant confessions ; but that wherein they all agree, and which they all subscribe with a greater harmony, as a perfect rule of their faith and actions, that is, the Bible. The Bible, I say, the Bible only is the religion of protestants. Whatsoever else they believe besides it, and the plain, irrefragable, indubitable consequences of it, well may they hold it as a matter of opinion, but as matter of faith and religion, neither can they with coherence to their own grounds believe it themselves, nor require the belief of it of others, without most high and most schismatical presumption. I, for my part, adds he, after a long (and as I verily believe and hope,) impartial search of the true way to eternal happiness, do profess plainly that I cannot find any rest for the sole of my foot, but upon this rock only. I see plainly, and with mine own eyes, that there are popes against popes, councils against councils, some fathers against others, the same fathers against themselves, a consent of fathers of one age against a consent of fathers of another age, the church of one age against the church of another age. Traditive interpretations of scripture are pretended, but there are few or none to be found. No tradition but only of scripture can derive itself from the fountain, but may be plainly proved, either to have been brought in, in such an age after Christ ; or that in such an age it was not in. In a word, there is no sufficient certainty but of scripture only, for any considering man to build upon. This, therefore, and this only, I have reason to believe : this I will profess, according to this I will live, and for this, if there be occasion, I will not only willingly, but even gladly lose my life."

Knott himself, and two other Jesuits, Floyd and Lacy, attempted to answer Chillingworth's performance ; but, as might have been anticipated, they found the task too hard for them.

On the promotion of Dr Duppa, chancellor of Salisbury, to the see of Chichester, the vacant chancellorship was conferred on Chillingworth, with the prebend of Brixworth, in Northamptonshire, annexed to it. At the breaking out of the civil war, Chillingworth adhered to the king's party. He was taken prisoner in Arundel castle, on the surrender of that fortress to Sir William Waller, in 1643, and died soon after, at the palace of the bishop of Chichester, having been in bad health for some time previous to the surrender of the garrison. Clarendon represents the latter moments of this great man as having been embittered by the malevolence of some of the parliamentary party. Nothing could be more false. It is true that Dr Cheynell, in his anxiety to promote the spiritual welfare of Chillingworth, paid him frequent visits while on death-bed, and behaved in rather an extraor-

dinary manner at his funeral ; but it is not true that either Cheynell, or any one else, consciously added to the sufferings of the dying man. On the contrary, it was at Cheynell's express request that Chillingworth was removed to Chichester, for change of air and quiet ; and Sir William Waller's own physician was charged to wait upon him, and do every thing in his power to promote his restoration to health.

Besides his controversial tracts, there are extant nine sermons of Chillingworth's, on occasional subjects, and a tract, entitled, 'The Apostolical institution of Episcopacy.'

### Henry Burton.

BORN A. D. 1578.—DIED A. D. 1648.

HENRY BURTON was born in the year 1578, at Birdsall, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. He received the degree of M.A. at St John's college, Cambridge, where he enjoyed the ministerial services of Chatterton and Perkins. Upon leaving the university, he became tutor to the sons of Lord Carey of Lepington, afterwards earl of Monmouth, by whom he was subsequently recommended to Prince Henry, whom he served as sole officer in his closet during the life of his royal highness. This latter situation affording him considerable time for study, he composed a Latin treatise on Antichrist, which he presented to the prince in manuscript. After the death of Prince Henry, he continued in the same office under his brother Charles. About this time he wrote his treatise called 'A Censure of Simony,' and likewise another, entitled, 'Truth's Triumph over Trent,' wherein, to use his own language, he "unfolded the mystery of iniquity packed up in the sixth session of that council, encountering therein those two champions of the council, Andreas Vega, and Dominicus Soto." These works, with some difficulty, he got licensed by Archbishop Abbot's chaplain, who afterwards refused to license another of Burton's treatises, being a reply to a book entitled, 'The Converted Jew.'

On Charles's accession, Burton took it upon him to inform his majesty by letter, how popishly Neile and Laud were inclined. Charles regarded the advice as impertinent, and desired its author to discontinue his attendance in office, until he should be sent for, whereupon Burton sent in his resignation. He now devoted himself zealously to the ministry of the word, and to polemical controversy. Among the works to which he at this time sent forth an answer, were Montague's 'Appeal to Cæsar,' and Cosen's 'Private Devotions.' A work by Bishop Hall, in which he affirmed the church of Rome to be the true church, was replied to by Burton in a treatise on the seven vials. For thus writing against the church of Rome, and for publishing without a license, he was twice brought before the high-commission court, but he succeeded in procuring a prohibition. In December 1636, he was cited to appear before Dr Duck, one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, to answer to certain articles brought against him for what he had recently advanced in his sermons. Burton appealed to the king, but was suspended by a special commission court, on which he thought fit to abscond, but published the two offensive sermons under the title of



'For God and the King,' together with an apology justifying his appeal. The consequence of this conduct was, that he soon found himself lodged in the Fleet prison, where he remained shut up from his wife and friends for half-a-year before being brought before the star-chamber. Judgment was pronounced at the same time against Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, but the two latter were only fined in £5000 each, while poor Burton, in addition to the fine of equal amount, was sentenced to be deprived and degraded, to stand in the pillory two hours, to lose both his ears, and to be kept a perpetual close prisoner in the castle of Lancaster. He bore the execution of his sentence with all the courage and transport of a martyr: "While I stood in the pillory," says he, "I thought myself to be in heaven, and in a state of glory and triumph; if any such state can possibly be on earth. I found these words of Peter verified on me in the pillory, 'If ye be reproached,' &c. 1 Pet. iv. 14. For my rejoicing was so great all the while, without intermission, that I can no more express it than Paul could his ravishment in the third heaven." His journey from the Fleet to Lancaster resembled more the progress of a triumphant king than of a persecuted and despised criminal. Above 40,000 persons assembled to witness his departure from the city, and nearly 500 of his friends accompanied him on the road.

After twelve weeks imprisonment in the common jail at Lancaster, during which he was visited by hundreds of sympathising friends, he was removed to Cornet castle, in the isle of Guernsey, where he was kept a close prisoner for three years. There, notwithstanding the strict injunctions which had been laid upon his gaolers to keep him from all access to writing materials, he contrived to write several pamphlets, some of which found their way to the public and some did not. At last, this scene of suffering and degradation was exchanged for one of honour and comparative tranquillity. On the 15th of November, 1640, an order for his enlargement arrived from the house of commons. His fellow-prisoner, Prynne, was enlarged at the same time, and proceeded with him to London, their cortege increasing at every town and village through which they passed, until it had swelled to some thousands, who rent the air with their acclamations as these eminent sufferers for conscience sake entered the city. Mr Burton made directly for his own house at Chelsea, but such was the throng of people in the streets, occasioned by his arrival, that he was three hours in passing from the Mews to Aldermanbury. In a few days thereafter, the house of commons declared the whole proceedings of the high-commission and the star-chamber, in the cases of Burton, Prynne, and Bastwick, to be illegal, reversed their sentences, and restored the several sufferers to all degrees, orders, or benefices, which they formerly held. Burton was also ordered a gratuity of £6,000, as a recompense for his personal sufferings under an unjust sentence; but we believe that he never received any portion of this money.

Burton now recommenced his ministerial labours. Soon after he declared himself an independent, and wrote his 'Vindication of Churches commonly called Independent,' in reply to two works by his fellow-sufferer Prynne, who was of the presbyterian persuasion. Burton has been often accused of extreme violence and turbulence of temper, and represented as a headstrong and furious fanatic, whom no consideration

either of Christian forbearance or worldly prudence could tame. One detractor affects to say of Burton, that punishment made him an object of pity who never was an object of esteem. In reply to the last of these calumnies, it is sufficient to instance the enthusiastic public welcome which he received on his return from Guernsey. As to the former charge, it is too much to expect that a man whose profession was that of polemics, should have, in such times as he lived in, and with such provocations as he received, uniformly observed the language of courtesy and forbearance towards his antagonists. But we are bold to affirm, that many of his writings exhibit a truly Christian spirit; and that his whole life gave evidence that he not only knew the truth, but felt and acted under its power, and that with much more uniform consistency than many of his bitterest traducers.

### Archbishop Williams.

BORN A. D. 1582.—DIED A. D. 1650.



THIS distinguished prelate, the youngest son of a Welsh gentleman of Carnarvonshire, was born at Conway in 1582. After acquiring the rudiments of learning at an endowed school at Ruthin, he was sent to St John's college, Cambridge, where he took the degree of A.B. 1602. His family being wealthy, he was enabled to live in a very comfortable manner while pursuing his studies, and thus to form that ostentatious taste which distinguished him in after life; he was a hard student, however, and is said never to have spent above three or four hours in sleep out of the twenty-four. By close application, and a methodical distribution of his time, he soon acquired a high reputation for scholarship, and obtained the notice of Archbishop Bancroft, Lord Lumley, and the chancellor Ellesmere. The prelate presented to him an archdeaconry, and the chancellor placed him on his own establishment in the quality of domestic chaplain,—a situation described in the quaint but expressive phrase of Williams's biographer, Hacket, as 'a nest for an eagle.' Williams had discernment and ambition enough to avail himself of all the advantages which his 'nest' afforded him, and so successfully did he cultivate the good graces of the chancellor, that his lordship, upon the day of his death, called Williams to him and told him, "that if he wanted money, he would leave him such a legacy in his will as should enable him to begin the world like a gentleman." "Sir," replied Williams, "I kiss your hands, but you have filled my cup so full, that I am far from want; unless it be of your lordships' directions how to live in the world if I survive you." "Well," said the chancellor, "I know you are an expert workman, take these tools to work with, they are the best I have." And with these words he placed in his hands a number of books, papers, and memoranda, relating to the high courts of the nation, which the chancellor had drawn up for his own guidance, and from which Williams's biographer does not doubt but the archbishop drew his own system of politics.

The new lord-keeper, Bacon, wished Williams to act as his chaplain, but he declined the proposal, and was preparing to remove to one

of his livings in Northamptonshire, when he received orders to attend his majesty in his northern progress as one of his chaplains in ordinary. Soon after this he took his doctor's degree, and held a disputation before the archbishop of Spalatro, who was then visiting Cambridge. He acquitted himself greatly to James' satisfaction on this occasion, by his defence of the themes '*Supremus magistratus non est excommunicabilis*,' and '*Subductio calicis est mutilatio sacramenti et sacerdotii*.' From this time he constantly grew in favour with his majesty. "The king's table," says Hacket, "was a trial of wits. The reading of some books before him was very frequent while he was at his repast. Otherwise he collected knowledge by variety of questions, which he carried out to the capacity of his understanding visitors. Methought his hunting humour was not off so long as his courtiers, I mean, the learned stood about him at his board. He was ever in chase after some disputable doubts, which he would wind and turn about with the most stabbing objections that ever I heard, and was as pleasant and fellow-like in all these discourses with his huntsmen in the field. They that in many such genial and convivial conferences were ripe and weighty in their answers, were indubiously designed to some place of credit and profit. But among them all with whom King James communed, was found none like Daniel (Williams). His majesty gave ear more graciously to this chaplain, and directed his speech to him, when he was at hand, oftener than to any that crowded near to hearken to the wisdom of that Solomon." Williams, if not the ablest of James' auditors, was at least one of the most prudent, and studied the royal pedant's humour to the best advantage. At first, however, he mistook the relation in which it was necessary for him to stand to the favourite Buckingham, whom for some time he neglected to court. James, however, soon gave him to understand, that to stand well in his favour, it was necessary to be in the good graces also of the marquess. He lost no time in improving upon the hint thus given him, and soon rendered himself eminently serviceable to Buckingham by prevailing on the earl of Rutland to bestow his daughter and heiress upon him. The favourite rewarded the chaplain with the valuable deanery of Westminster.

Williams' next promotion was to the office of keeper of the seals, on the removal of the lord-chancellor Bacon from office in 1621. He had not held the seals a month before the bishopric of Lincoln was added to his preferments, with leave to retain his deanery and other benefices. As lord-keeper, Bishop Williams discharged his arduous services with singular assiduity and considerable ability. When he first entered upon office he had such a load of business that he was forced to sit by candle-light in the court of chancery, from two hours before day-break till between eight and nine. He then repaired to the house of peers, where he sat as speaker till twelve or one o'clock. This duty discharged, he snatched a brief repast, and then returned to hear causes in chancery till eight or nine in the evening. After this, on his return home, he perused his papers, despatched his correspondence, and prepared for the business of the house of lords next day. In the star-chamber, he, upon the whole, conducted himself with greater lenity and moderation than the other judges. He used his influence also with

the king and the favourite, in some instances, with very beneficial results to the public, as well as to individuals. He obtained the bishopric of Salisbury for the excellent Davenant, that of Exeter for Carew, and that of St David's for Laud; he also procured the liberation of the earl of Northumberland, who had been fifteen years a prisoner in the tower. On the death of King James, Williams preached his funeral sermon. Taking for his text the following words:—"And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father, and his son Rehoboam reigned in his stead." He opened his discourse in the following style: "It is not I, but this woeful accident that chooseth this text,—no book will serve this turn but the book of Kings,—no king but one of the best kings, but one that reigned over all Israel, which must be either Saul, as yet good, or David, or Solomon; no king of all Israel, but one of the wisest kings; neither unless he be a king of peace, which cannot be David, a man of war, but only Solomon; no king of peace neither, the more is our grief, alive and in his throne; and, therefore, it must of necessity be the funeral and obits of King Solomon." After this exordium, follows an elaborate commentary on the life, actions, and writings of Solomon, respecting whose choice of the gifts of wisdom, it is gravely observed, that "although kings be anointed on the arms, the instruments of action, yet are they crowned only on the head, the seat of wisdom. Whether," proceeds the erudite divine, "this wisdom of Solomon's was universal and embraced all sciences, as Pineda, or a prudence reaching to the practise only; also, whether Solomon did surmount as Tostatus, or fall short of Adam in the pitch of his wisdom, as Gregory de Valentia thinks, are such doughty frays, as I have no leisure to part at this time."

A parallel is drawn between the two kings in these terms: "Solomon is said to be the only son of his mother—so was King James. Solomon was of complexion white and ruddy—so was King James. Solomon was an infant king—so was King James a king at the age of thirteen months. Solomon began his reign in the life of his predecessor; so, by the force and compulsion of that state, did our late sovereign King James. Solomon was twice crowned and anointed a king; so was King James. Solomon's minority was rough through the quarrels of the former sovereign; so was that of King James. Solomon was learned above all the princes in the East; so was King James above all princes in the universal world. Solomon was a writer in prose and verse; so, in very pure and exquisite fashion, was our sweet sovereign King James. Solomon was the greatest patron we ever read of to church and churchmen; and yet no greater, let the house of Aaron now confess, than King James. Solomon was a main improver of his home and commodities, as you may see in his trading with Hiram; and God knows, it was the daily study of King James. Solomon was a great improver of shipping and navigation; a most proper attribute to King James. And yet, towards the end king Solomon had secret enemies . . . and prepared for a war upon his going to the grave; so had, and so did King James. Lastly, before any hostile act we read of in the history, king Solomon died in peace, when he had lived about sixty years, as Lyra and Tostatus were of opinion. And so you know did King James."

The bishop was removed from his office of lord-keeper by Charles I. on October, 1626, having fallen under the displeasure of Buckingham. Soon after this misfortune he penned the following sycophantic epistle to the duke: "Most gracious lord, beinge com hither, accordinge unto the dutye of my place, to doe my best service for the preparation to the coronation, and to wayte upon his majestye for his royall pleasure and direction therein, I doe most humblye beseech your grace to crowne soe many of your grace's former favoures, and to revive a creature of your owne, struck dead onely with your displeasure, (but noe other discontentment in the universall worlde,) by bringinge of me to kisse his majestye's hand, with whome I took leave in noe disfavour at all. I was never hitherto brought into the presence of a kinge by any saint beside yourselfe; turne me not over (most noble lord,) to offer my prayers at newe aulters. If I were guiltye of any unworthye, unfaithfulnes for the time past, or not guiltye of a resolution to doe your grace all service for the time to com, all considerations under heaven could not force me to begge it so earnestlye, or to professe myselfe as I do before God and you. Your grace his most humble, affectionate, and devoted servaunt, Jo. Lincoln."<sup>1</sup> He was ordered at the same time not to appear in parliament, but he refused to comply with the injunction, and, taking his seat in the house of peers, promoted the petition of right. The influence of Laud also was now directed against him, notwithstanding the debt of gratitude that prelate owed him for his first promotion to the mitre. In the 4th year of Charles, a prosecution was commenced against the bishop in the star-chamber on some frivolous informations preferred against him by some of Laud's creatures. He defended himself ably, but was condemned to pay a fine of £10,000 to the king, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. He was detained in the Tower till December, 1640, when the house of lords demanded, and obtained his liberation. Next year, he was advanced to the archbishopric of York. The same year he strenuously, though ineffectually, opposed the bill for depriving the bishops of their seats in the house of lords. On this occasion his usual prudence and foresight seem to have forsaken him, for he was mainly instrumental in preparing the protest of the twelve bishops which procured them instant imprisonment in the Tower.

In the year 1642, the archbishop retired from York to his estate at Aber-Conway, and was at no small expense in fortifying Conway castle for the king. After the execution of Charles, the archbishop spent his few remaining days in retirement and devotion. He died on the 25th of March, 1650. Besides several sermons, Archbishop Williams published a book against Laud's innovations, with this title, 'The Holy Table, Name, and Thing, more antiently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, than that of Altar,' which Lord Clarendon characterises as a book "full of good learning, and that learning so closely and solidly applied—though it abounded with two many light expressions—that it gained him reputation enough to be able to do hurt." He likewise made some collections for a Latin commentary on the Bible, and a life of Bishop Grossteste.

<sup>1</sup> Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. iii. p. 255.

## Bishop Hall.

BORN A. D. 1574.—DIED A. D. 1656.

JOSEPH HALL was born of very respectable parentage at Bristow-park, in the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire, on the 1st of July, 1574. His father was an officer under Henry, earl of Huntingdon; his mother, "of the house of the Bainbridges." To the instruction and counsel of his maternal parent—who is described as a woman of "rare sanctity,"—Hall was doubtless greatly indebted for the bent of his subsequent character; and he has acknowledged his obligations to her in very affectionate and pleasing terms: "how often," says he, "have I blessed the memory of those divine passages of experimental divinity which I have heard from her mouth! What day did she pass without a large task of private devotion: whence she would still come forth with a countenance of undissembled mortification! Never any lips have read to me such feeling lectures of piety; neither have I known any soul that more accurately practised them than her own. Temptations, desertions, and spiritual comforts, were her usual theme. Shortly—for I can hardly take off my pen from so exemplary a subject—her life and death were saint-like." It is not to be wondered at that the highest ambition of such a "saintly" mother was to see her son engaged in the ministry of the gospel; and accordingly his parents appear to have devoted him from very early years to the sacred calling. The bishop has left behind him two interesting pieces of auto-biography,—one entitled 'Hard measure,'—and the other 'Observations on some specialties of Divine Providence in the life of Joseph Hall, written with his own hand;' in the latter of these works, the first "specialty" which he acknowledges is his having escaped from a system of private tutorage, which threatened ultimately to divert his attention from the work of the ministry, and having been permitted to pursue his studies at Cambridge. The expenses of a university-education would soon have proved too great for the father's means, whose "not very large cistern," the son quaintly remarks, had to "feed many pipes" besides his; but an unexpected benefactor happily stepped forward at the critical moment when the young student was about to be removed from Cambridge, and supplied him with the means of prosecuting his studies at that ancient seat of learning, where, in due season, he was elected fellow of his college, Emanuel, and lectured on rhetoric for two years successively. Hall was an enthusiastic student; and used to declare that the years which he passed within the walls of his college were the happiest of his life. In early youth he had drank deeply from classic fountains; and, before the completion of his 23d year, the publication of his satires had powerfully contributed to one department at least of his country's literature,—or, rather had given existence to it; for, in the judgment of Campbell<sup>1</sup>—no mean authority it will be allowed, on such a point—"of our satirical poetry, taking satire in its moral and dignified sense, he claims, and may be allowed, to be the founder."

<sup>1</sup> Specimens, vol. ii. p. 256.

Having entered into sacred orders, he was presented by Lady Drury to the rectory of Halsted in Suffolk, having previously declined the mastership of Tiverton school. His parochial charge was rendered somewhat troublesome by the impertinences and malice of "a witty and bold atheist, one Mr Lilly," who, having conceived some dislike to the worthy doctor's faithful ministrations, set himself to prejudice Sir Robert Drury, the son of his patroness, against him. Mr Jones conjectures that this was Lilly the author of 'Euphues,' who does not however appear to have avowed atheistical principles in any of his fantastic writings. But whoever the man was, he proved himself a source of considerable uneasiness to the future bishop, who confesses, that "finding the obdurateness and hopeless condition of that man, I bent my prayers against him, beseeching God daily, that he would be pleased to remove, by some means or other, that apparent hinderance of my faithful labours, who gave me an answer accordingly: for this malicious man, going hastily up to London to exasperate my patron against me, was then and there swept away by the pestilence, and never returned to do any further mischief." When he had been two years resident on his rectory, "the uncouth solitariness" of his life, and "the extreme incommodity of that single house-keeping," drew his thoughts "to condescend to the necessity of a married state." Dire however as this necessity appeared at first to be to the mind of the studious and quiet-loving rector, it proved—as he himself confesses—the means of introducing him to "the comfortable society of a meet-help for the space of forty-nine years."

Two years after this deed of "condescension," the paucity of his pecuniary emoluments arising from the rectorship, and the desire he had "to inform himself ocularly of the state and practices of the Romish church, induced him to accept the invitation of Sir Edmund Bacon to accompany him to Spa, and during their continental tour he engaged in a public disputation with some Jesuits at Brussels. An accidental opportunity which he had soon after his return home, of preaching at Richmond before Prince Henry, to whom he had already dedicated his 'Contemplations,' seems to have given the first impulse to his preferment. He was nominated one of the prince's chaplains, and was presented, by the earl of Norwich, to the valuable living of Waltham, at that time worth £100 a year, "with other considerable accommodations." On this occasion (1612,) he took his degree of doctor of divinity. His incumbency at Waltham lasted twenty-two years, during which period he continued to rise in favour at court, and was more than once engaged abroad on public missions. On his return from having accompanied Lord Doncaster in his embassy to France, he found himself created by the king, dean of Worcester. Subsequently he attended his majesty to Scotland, in an expedition from which James reaped no honours, and his subjects no advantage.

In 1618, Hall was nominated one of the four divines whom the royal polemic, who at that time filled the throne of Britain, thought fit to send to the famous synod of Dort, as the representatives of the English clergy. His colleagues on this occasion, were Carleton, Davenant, and Ward; the first, distinguished for episcopal gravity, the second for a sound judgment, and the third, for extensive reading; the quality which induced the king to appoint Hall a member of this illustrious

legation, as stated by Fuller, was his "*expedita concionatio*," his readiness and fluency of public address. The synod held its sittings from November, 1618, till the end of the following May; but Hall's constitution was so powerfully affected by the climate of Holland, that after two months' attendance, he was obliged to apply for his dismissal. The reluctance with which the synod complied with his request is a sufficient proof of the esteem in which he was held by his Dutch brethren, and the states-general sent him a respectful compliment by Heinsius, with a gold medal struck in commemoration of the synod,—a badge which he constantly wore afterwards, and which is appended to his dress in several of his portraits. There can be no reasonable doubt that Hall was a Calvinist in sentiment, and that he maintained the doctrine of election in his writings and conferences; in particular, the "Articles of Accord," which he proposed in his '*Via Media*,' a publication intended to moderate the violence of "the Belgic disease," as Hall terms the Calvinistic controversy, then raging in England, as well as in the Netherlands—are explicit with regard to his views on this subject. But there is as little reason to regard him as belonging to the fiery and high-flying Calvinistic party; his views were moderate, and his temperament pacific, and he evidently made the preservation of peace a leading object throughout his whole life.

Having "with much humble deprecation, refused the bishopric of Gloucester, which was earnestly proffered to him," Hall was raised by Charles I. to the see of Exeter, in 1627; and with his bishopric he was permitted to hold in *commendam* the rectory of St Brock, in Cornwall, worth £300 per annum, so that his fortune was now ample. But the deplorable state to which, under the guidance of the infatuated monarch, public affairs were fast hastening, had now become evident to all but those who partook of Charles's infatuation; and the good bishop had beautifully expressed the apprehensions which filled his mind in the dedication to his '*Via Media*,' which he published shortly after his elevation to the mitre, and wherein he says:—"There needs no prophetic spirit to discern, by a small cloud, that there is a storm coming to our church; such a one as shall not only drench our plumes, but shake our peace. Already do we see the sky thicken, and hear the winds whistle hollow afar off, and feel all the presages of a tempest." The tempest soon burst forth, and the bishop of Exeter was destined early to abide the pelting of the storm. Assailed on one hand as a partisan of the church of Rome, and on the other as a favourer of Puritanism, he found himself at the same time constrained to oppose the intolerance of the metropolitan Laud, who would have crushed and borne down by the strong hand of power, if he could, all dissentients from the established order of things in church and state. At last the nation arose to vindicate its rights; the long parliament assembled, and Laud was impeached; while Hall, alarmed for the existence of the church, stood up in his place in the house of lords, and, in a spirit rare with him—of no ordinary bitterness, denounced the dissenting congregations which now dared openly to worship God according to their conscience, in the suburbs and liberties of London, as "sectaries instructed by guides fit for them, cobblers, tailors, feltmakers, and such like trash;" he even attempted to represent them as not a shade better than the anabaptists of Munster. Besides delivering this violent speech



in parliament, he wrote a reply to the powerful polemical tract entitled '*Smectymnuus*.'

In November, 1641, Bishop Hall was translated to Norwich; and on the 1st of January, 1642, he was committed to the Tower with other twelve prelates, on account of a protestation which they had dared to exhibit against whatever measures should be adopted in their absence from the house of lords, while restrained from appearing in public by fear of personal insult and violence from the populace. The fruits of their rash protesting was imprisonment till the 5th of May following, and deprivation of temporal estates and spiritual promotions, with reservation only of an annual allowance for their maintenance. Bishop Hall's allowance was £400 a-year. In his 'Letter from the Tower,' and his 'Free Prisoner,' we have the bishop's own account of these troubles, which he appears to have sustained with a becoming spirit of humility and resignation. On his liberation he instantly retired to Norwich, where he preached in the cathedral, on the day after his arrival, "to a numerous and attentive people," and continued to officiate till he was "forbidden by men, and at last disabled by God." It is impossible to justify the severity with which this amiable man was treated on the subversion of prelatical domination. Shortly after his retirement to Norwich an order was passed for the full sequestration of the estates of all notorious political delinquents against the commonwealth; and as this order comprehended the protesting bishops, Hall was of course included under its operation, and driven from his episcopal residence with great harshness. "The soldiers," says Neale, "used him severely, turning him out of his palace, and threatening to sell his books if a friend had not given bond for the money at which they were appraised." Neale intimates that the sequestration against the bishop of Norwich was removed in February, 1647; but the silence which Hall himself preserves on this point in his 'Hard Measure,' which bears date three months later, inclines us to suspect that this order, like some others, had been without effect. His last years were passed on a small estate which he rented at Heigham, a hamlet in the western suburbs of Norwich, wherein the house which he inhabited is still remaining. In his old age he became the victim of strangury and stone; his sufferings under these acute diseases were extreme, but he bore them with the utmost fortitude and resignation, till death brought his spirit welcome release, on the 8th day of September, 1656, in the 82d year of his age. Notwithstanding his injunction to the contrary, he was buried in the chancel of Heigham church, in which there is a black marble monument erected over his tomb, bearing a short and simple inscription.

Few prelates of the English church—perhaps none—have left to posterity a fairer reputation than Bishop Hall. Living in troublous times, and often placed in circumstances extremely trying to his temper as a man, and his faith and patience as a Christian, he manifested throughout the whole of a long and chequered life, the greatest singleness of heart, mildness of temper, and purity of intention. For his ethical eloquence he has sometimes been denominated the English Seneca. The merits of his writings are general chasteness and terseness of composition, a rich vein of fancy, fine pathos, delicate satire, a spirit of fervent practical piety, and views of futurity always elevating

and sublime; his defects are those of his time,—quaintness of language, and occasional involution and obscurity of style.

### Thomas Gataker, B. D.

BORN A. D. 1574.—DIED A. D. 1654.

THIS eminent theologian was descended from an ancient Shropshire family. He was educated at Cambridge, and received a fellowship of Sydney college from Whitgift. During his residence in Cambridge, he read prelections on the Hebrew scriptures, which were greatly admired for the depth of erudition which they displayed, as well as for their singular piety. At the age of twenty-six he was chosen lecturer at Lincoln's inn. The appointment excited the alarm of his friends lest it should be found too severe a task for one so young; but the result justified the choice of the benchers. He soon became the most popular preacher in the metropolis; while at the same time his published pieces procured for him a high standing amongst foreign as well as English divines. Though an advocate for moderate episcopacy, he attended the Westminster assembly, and took a part in preparing the annotations on the scriptures which were published under the authority of that learned body. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the book of Lamentations, were the portions which he executed, and, in the opinion of Calamy, he has greatly surpassed all his coadjutors in the work. In 1645, appeared his learned treatise, 'De Nomine Tetragrammato,' being a defence of the common way of pronouncing the word Jehovah. In 1646, he published an answer to Saltmarsh's treatise on Grace, in which he demolished the Antinomian view of his opponent, and exposed with great vigour and effect that affected style of quaint antithesis then so much in vogue in treating of theological subjects. In 1648, he subscribed the remonstrance to the army against the design of trying the king. In 1653, he was drawn into a dispute with Lilly, the astrologer, in which he handled that 'blind buzzard' with well-merited severity and contempt. He died in 1654. His annotations on Marcus Antoninus are well known to scholars.

### Henry Hammond, B. D.

BORN A. D. 1605.—DIED A. D. 1660.

THIS learned and amiable divine was born at Chertsey, in Surrey, on the 18th of August, 1605. He was the youngest son of Dr John Hammond, a physician. He received his grammar learning at Eton, and in 1618 was sent to Magdalen college, Oxford, of which he became a fellow in July, 1625. During his residence in Oxford, he applied himself with extreme diligence to classical studies. In 1629, he entered into holy orders; and in 1633 was presented to the rectory of Penshurst, in Kent, by the earl of Leicester, who had conceived a high opinion of his talents and piety from a sermon which he accidentally heard him deliver. Bishop Duppa conferred upon him the archdeaconry of Chichester in 1643.

In this latter year he retired to Oxford, having rendered himself ob-

noxious to the ruling party, by joining in the fruitless attempt at Tunbridge, in favour of the king. His retirement he dedicated to the purpose of drawing up a 'Practical Catechism,' which he published next year. The committee of presbyterian divines soon after took exception to various doctrines advanced by Hammond in his catechism, whereupon he published a spirited vindication of the obnoxious passages, and challenged his opponents to a public disputation. During the Uxbridge negotiations, Hammond, as one of the divines on the king's side, took an active part in the discussions with the presbyterian commissioners. In 1645, the king bestowed a canonry of Christ church upon him, and made him one of his chaplains in ordinary. On the surrender of Oxford, he followed his royal master to the isle of Wight, where he remained till 1647, when he returned to Oxford.

The parliamentary commissioners deprived Hammond of his college offices in 1648, and placed him and his colleague, Dr Sheldon, under personal restraint for about ten weeks. It was during this confinement that he began his celebrated Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament. It came out first in 1653. A new and enlarged edition of it was published in 1656; and in 1698, Le Clerc published a Latin translation of it. It is a work of great learning, but abounding in fanciful interpretations. He afterwards formed the design of commenting upon the books of the Old Testament, but only lived to execute the book of Psalms, and a portion of Proverbs.

The death of the king—against whose trial he had drawn up a firm but modest protest—greatly affected him; but the moderation and kindness with which he was treated by many who, while they disliked his political principles, yet admired the man and his theological writings, revived his spirits, and encouraged him to resume his studies. His constitution, however, began to give way in a few years, and, while on the eve of promotion to the bishopric of Worcester, he was carried off by a violent attack of gravel in 1660. Bishop Burnet says of him that "his death was an unspeakable loss to the church." He was one of the most learned, most pious, and most active men of his day. His collected works were published in four volumes folio, in 1684.

### Thomas Fuller.

BORN CIRC. A. D. 1608.—DIED A. D. 1661.

THOMAS FULLER, an eminent historian and divine of the church of England in the 17th century, was the son of the parish-minister of Aldwinkle, in Northamptonshire, in which village he was born about the year 1608. He received the elements of instruction under the paternal roof, but at a very early age was sent to Queen's college, Cambridge, of which his maternal uncle, Dr Davenant, was master, and where he pursued his studies with such vigour and success that he took the degree of A. B. in 1624, and that of A. M. in 1628. During his residence in Queen's college he stood candidate for a vacant fellowship, being urged thereto by the desire of the whole house, but upon its being ascertained that there existed a statute against the admission of two fellows from Northamptonshire, he instantly withdrew his claim

to the vacant preferment, though assured that the strict terms of the statute would be dispensed with in his case, choosing rather that his private interests should suffer, than that any invasion should be perpetrated on the laws and privileges of the college. Soon after—the author of his *Life*, printed at Oxford in 1662, informs us—“his great sufficiencies (being now about twenty-three years of age), tendered him a prebendary of Salisbury, and at the same time a fellowship in Sydney college. He had been previously chosen minister of St Bennet’s parish, in the town of Cambridge, in which church he ‘offered the first fruits of his ministerial functions.’” The same year in which he obtained his prebend and fellowship was distinguished by the commencement of his career as an author in the publication of a poem entitled ‘David’s Heinous Sin, Heartie Repentance, and Heavie Punishment,’ a piece now little known.

On being ordained priest, he was presented to the rectory of Broad Windsor, in Dorsetshire, where he exercised his ministerial functions with great diligence and acceptance. In 1635, he proceeded B. D., and soon after, entered into the married state with a young lady, who was early removed from him by death. It was during his recess at his country rectory that he began to complete several of his works, the plans of which had been sketched, and foundations laid by him whilst at the university. His ‘*Historie of the Holy Warse*’ first appeared in folio, in 1640, but its dedication to the hon. Edward Montagu and Sir John Powlett is dated the 6th of March, 1638. Shortly after the publication of this work, which became immediately popular, “growing weary of the narrow limits of a country-parish, and uneasy at the unsettled state of public affairs,” he removed to London; an additional reason for this step probably was the desire of readier access to books and learned men—“walking and standing libraries,” as he quaintly talks of—than a country situation afforded him. In the metropolis “he preached with great applause in the most eminent pulpits, especially in the Inns of Court, and was speedily chosen lecturer in the Savoy, the duties of which office he discharged with prodigious success.” The concourse of hearers which flocked to him was so great that—to use the language of his just biographer—“his own cure were in a sense excommunicated from the church, unless their timeous diligence kept pace with their devotions. He had in his narrow chapel, two audiences—one without the pale, the other within—the windows of that little church and the sextonry so crowded as if bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourse.” He was chosen a member of the convocation at Westminster, which met in Henry the Seventh’s chapel in 1640, and was one of the select committee appointed to draw up new canons for the better government of the church.

Fuller was never a warm partisan; yet it could not be said of him that he “was so supple that he brake not a joint in all the alterations of the times.” During the troublous period embraced by the reign of Charles I. and the commonwealth, he adhered firmly to the royal cause; his efforts to serve it, both in public and private, were earnest and unremitting, and drew upon him the obloquy and disaster which naturally attach to a defeated party in the high struggle for political ascendancy. After the king had quitted London, previously to the commencement of hostilities against his parliament, Fuller, on the an-

niversary of his majesty's inauguration, in 1642, preached at Westminster Abbey, from the text, "Yea, let them take all, so that my lord, the king, return in peace,"—2 Sam. xix. 30. This sermon having been published, gave great offence to the popular leaders of the day, and brought the preacher into some danger. About this period he completed and published 'The Holy State,' in one volume folio. This is generally regarded as one of the best, if not the best in every respect of his numerous works. 'The Profane State' is to be classed along with it; both being a series of moral portraits illustrated occasionally by biographical sketches. The idea of these works, it has been suggested, was probably taken from Causines's 'Holy Court:' we should think it more probable that the 'Characterisms of Virtues and Vices,' by Bishop Hall, gave the hint. During the ferment and conflict of the civil war, he prosecuted his studies as he had opportunity. In 1643, he joined the king at Oxford, and he afterwards attended Sir Ralph Hopton as his army-chaplain. After the battle at Cheriton-Down, in March, 1644, we find our chaplain at Basing House, where he so animated the garrison to a vigorous defence of that place, that Sir William Waller was obliged to raise the siege with considerable loss. On Hopton's retreat into Cornwall, Fuller took refuge in Exeter, where he preached regularly to the citizens, and was appointed chaplain to the infant-princess, Henrietta Maria, who was born in that city in 1643. On the surrender of Exeter to the parliamentary forces, in April, 1646, he removed again to London, and was chosen lecturer, first at St Clement's Lane, Lombard Street, and afterwards at St Bride's.

About 1648, he was presented by the earl of Carlisle to the living of Waltham in Essex. Two years after, he published a geographical account of the Holy Land, which he entitled, 'A Pisgah sight of Palestine, and the Confines thereof,' in folio, with maps and views; and in 1650 appeared his 'Abel Redivivus,' a collection of lives of eminent martyrs, saints, and confessors. After having lived about twelve years a widower, he married again, making choice of one of the sisters of Viscount Baltinglasse for his new helpmate; but he still found time and means to pursue his multiform studies, and gratify his taste for authorship. In 1656 he published his Church History, at London, in folio. The whole title of this work is, 'The Church History of Britain, from the birth of Jesus Christ, until the year 1648. Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller.' This performance was severely animadverted on by Dr Peter Heylin in his 'Examen Historicum,' which appeared about three years after. It is also treated with quite too much asperity of censure by Archbishop Nicolson, who complains of its being "so interlaced with pun and quibble, that it looks as if the man had designed to ridicule the annals of our church into fable and romance." To Heylin, Fuller replied with much ingenuity and candour. In 1658, the living of Crauford, in Middlesex, was bestowed upon him, and he removed thither. On the Restoration, he received his prebend in the cathedral of Salisbury, and was appointed extraordinary chaplain to his majesty, besides being created D.D. at Cambridge by royal mandamus. He would have been further rewarded with a bishopric, had it not been prevented by his death, which happened on the 16th of August, 1661. He was interred in the chancel of Crauford church; above two hundred

of his clerical brethren accompanied his remains to the grave, and Dr Hardy, dean of Rochester, preached his funeral sermon. His principal work, entitled, 'The Worthies of England,' was published the year after his death. In it Fuller has given a diffuse and rather minute account of the remarkable men and things in each of the several shires of England and Wales; it contains not a little of serious trifling, but is a valuable repository of curious facts, and abounds with pithy sayings and amusing anecdotes.

The following able estimate of Fuller and his writings appeared in the 'Christian Examiner,' an American periodical:—"Fuller was regarded as an extraordinary man by his contemporaries; and the judgment has been and will be confirmed, the more he is known. That he had his share in the literary faults of his age, is not to be disputed; and they who will judge his writings by no standard but such as is applied at the present day, will doubtless find much to be offended with. But it would be gross injustice to deny his claim to great and distinguishing excellence. He possessed a capacious and vigorous mind—filled even to overflowing with the knowledge to be gained from books and men—strong in its native powers, and kept bright by habits of keen and astute observation. His astonishing power of memory was, perhaps, never surpassed by that of any individual. His learning, large and various as its stores were, appears never to have overlaid his intellect, but to have been used, if not always necessarily, yet aptly and for purposes truly connected with the matter in hand, and not in that tasteless and diffuse manner which marked the compositions of not a few of his contemporaries. As a reasoner, in the restricted sense of the word, he was not distinguished. His excellence consisted rather in that practical and sagacious turn of mind which arrives at valuable results, without going through the process of premises and inferences, and which spreads out the fruits of its meditations in sage and amusing remarks on life and on the springs of human character and passions. We know not where we should find a richer fund of this sort of entertaining wisdom, than is to be had in many of his pages.

"The quality which is usually thought to stand out in most striking relief in Fuller's works is his untiring humour. This was indeed the ruling passion of his soul. He could say nothing without saying it, if possible, quaintly and facetiously. It seems to have been a lesson of self-denial which he never learned, to pass by a jocose turn of thought or expression, and leave it unused. If there were two ways of stating a sentiment, or giving a description, the one literal and grave, the other witty and allusive, he was pretty sure to choose the latter. Yet, in this quality, Fuller, though he surpassed some others, was far from being alone. We are accustomed to consider the divines of two centuries ago as grave, dignified, and stern men, whose countenances never relaxed into a smile, and who wrote and thought, as they are imagined to have lived and walked, only in the old-fashioned clerical stateliness. Yet the fact is, that many of them indulged in a vein of humour, and sometimes broad humour too, in their preaching and writings, which would be altogether startling to 'the men of these degenerate days.' We wonder what an audience would think now, were they to hear such gibes and jests as were not unfrequently uttered from English pulpits, in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, the first and second

Charles, and even at an earlier period. Who ever has read Latimer's sermons must remember that he relates many a mirthful anecdote in them, and sometimes with the prefatory remark, that he is about to tell 'a merry toy.' The sermons of John Hales of Eton are not wanting in strokes of facetiousness which might be deemed free enough for the pleasantries of familiar conversation. The raillery and wit of Eachard would not fail in comparison with those of Swift; and the unsparing sarcasms, and coarse but pungent ridicule of South, are well known to all who have looked into his strange but valuable discourses, which are the productions of a strong mind, given up to the impulse of a feeling at least equally strong. But the facetious qualities of Fuller, abundant as they were to a fault, were always good natured and free from asperity,—the spontaneous glee of a mind that had an irresistible propensity to disport itself in this sort of pastime. It was not sharp enough to answer to his own description of the wit of Erasmus, who, he says, 'was a badger in his jeers; when he did bite he would make his teeth meet.' Calamy, in his life of Howe, having mentioned the services which Howe rendered to several of the royalists and episcopalians, when they were brought before the Tryers, appointed in Cromwell's time to test their qualifications for the exercise of the ministry, relates the following characteristical anecdote of Fuller:—Among the rest that applied to him for advice upon that occasion, the celebrated Dr Thomas Fuller, who is well known by his punning writings, was one. That gentleman, who was generally upon the merry pin, being to take his turn before these Tryers, of whom he had a very formidable notion, thus accosted Mr Howe, when he applied to him for advice:—'Sir,' said he, 'you may observe I am a pretty corpulent man, and I am to go through a passage that is very strait: I beg you would be so kind as to give me a shove, and help me through.' He freely gave him his advice, and he promised to follow it; and when he appeared before them, and they proposed to him the usual question—Whether he had ever had any experience of a work of grace upon his heart,—he gave this in for answer, that he could appeal to the Searcher of hearts that he made conscience of his very thoughts; with which answer they were satisfied, as indeed well they might. One cannot but suspect that the Tryers were too glad to be well-rid, at any rate, of a man like Fuller, not to grant him a dispensation on easy terms."

A new edition of Fuller's 'Worthies,' with his life prefixed, appeared in 1810, in two vols. 4to. His 'Holy and Profane States' were republished in America, in 1831. A portrait of Fuller, by Loggan, is prefixed to the folio edition of his 'Worthies,' and also to his 'Pisgah Sight.'<sup>1</sup>

### Brian Walton, D. D.

BORN, A. D. 1600.—DIED, A. D. 1661.

THIS distinguished biblical scholar, the editor and promoter of the London Polyglott Bible, was born at Seymour in Yorkshire, in the

<sup>1</sup> Sup. to Bayle.—Life and Death of Fuller. Oxon. 1662.

year 1600. In July, 1616, he is said to have been admitted a sizar of Magdalene college in Cambridge; whence he was removed to Peter-house as a sizar also, in 1618. In 1619, he took the degree of bachelor of arts; in 1623, that of master of arts.

From Cambridge he removed to a curacy in Suffolk, where he was also appointed master of a grammar-school. From this situation he soon removed to the metropolis, and became an assistant at the church of Allhallows, Bread-street. In 1626, he was made rector of St Martin's Ongar. Here he became distinguished for activity and diligence in ecclesiastical affairs, and he was soon employed in the principal management of the business of the London clergy relative to the payment of tithes in the city. A statute is said to have been enacted in the reign of Henry the VIIIth: which fixed the tithes or oblations at two shillings and ninepence in the pound on the rent. The citizens resisted this impost, and when James the first came to the throne the clergy sought redress from the legislature. This being refused by parliament, the clergy in 1634 renewed their petition for relief in a statement to King Charles the first, setting forth the greatness of their benefices in former days, and the meanness of them at that time, together with an exposition of the causes of the deficiency. The king undertook to be the arbitrator between the parties, and valuations were ordered on both sides. Two committees were appointed; one for the city, consisting of three aldermen; and one for the clergy, consisting of three of their number, including Dr Walton. These proceedings were however soon closed by the eventful times which succeeded. Dr Walton composed a regular and complete treatise on the subject of these claims, about 1640, which was published in 1752, in the '*Collectanea Ecclesiastica*,' or treatises relating to the rights of the clergy of the church of England, by Samuel Brewster, Esq.

Soon after the preceding application of the clergy to King Charles the first, Dr Walton was instituted to the two rectories of St Giles-in-the-fields, London, and of Sandon in Essex. He is supposed to have been a chaplain to the king, and to have been collated also to a prebend in St Paul's cathedral. In 1639, he commenced doctor in divinity at Cambridge; where, in keeping his act on the occasion, he maintained this thesis: '*Pontifex Romanus non est iudex infallibilis in controversiis fidei*.'

In the midst of these honours and emoluments, he was called to mourn the loss of a beloved wife, whom he buried in the chancel of Sandon, A.D. 1640, raising to her memory a monument with an epitaph highly commendatory and affectionate.

From this trouble he was soon called to another affecting his personal comfort and public character. His parishioners presented a petition to parliament, complaining of his pluralities and his zeal for the ceremonies as established by Archbishop Laud. They were also aggrieved at his omitting the afternoon sermon, and refusing them the privilege of procuring a lecturer, and supporting him themselves. His accusers proceed to censure Dr Walton's demand for tithes, and the suits at law which he had instituted to obtain the demand when refused. They represent him as exacting his claims with threats, and harassing them with informations and excommunications; making them a prey to officers, and leaving them at last, though wronged, without relief.



There is no record of Dr Walton's defence before the committee of parliament, to whom such things were referred; but he is supposed to have been dispossessed of both his rectories in 1641; and took refuge in the city of Oxford, where the royalist party prevailed. Here Dr Walton formed his design of publishing a Polyglott Bible. From thence, at the surrender of the city, he removed to London, and took up his residence with Dr Fuller, vicar of St Giles, Cripplegate, whose daughter was now the second wife of Dr Walton. Having submitted to many judicious friends, and most of the English bishops then living, an account of his plan, and of the materials which he had spent so much time in procuring, he proceeded in 1652, to publish a description of the intended work, with proposals, and a recommendatory letter by Usher, Selden, and others. The design was so much approved, that before the close of the year, subscriptions to the amount of near £4000 were obtained, and soon afterward the amount was more than doubled. The council of state under Cromwell patronised the undertaking by a subscription of £1000, and, at the instance of Cromwell, the paper for the work was exempted from duty—a similar privilege which he had conferred on the editors of the *Critici Sacri*.

In this great and laborious undertaking Walton was assisted by many men of eminent learning, as Castell, Usher, Pocock, Lightfoot, Hyde, Casaubon, Selden, and others.

The Polyglott Bible was printed in nine languages, and comprehended in six volumes folio, with prolegomena, by Dr Walton, and was finished in about four years, the last volume appearing in the close of the year 1657. The original preface contained a grateful acknowledgment of the remission of the duty on the paper by Cromwell and the council. The former he styles '*Serenissimus Dominus Protector*.' On the restoration of Charles, Walton cancelled the direct acknowledgment, and only distantly alluded to those by whose favour the duty had been remitted; and dedicated his work to the new monarch.

Dr Walton was immediately, on the accession of Charles, restored to the preferments of which he had been deprived by the parliament, and was consecrated bishop of Chester in Westminster abbey, December, 1660. In September of the following year, he made his entry into Chester with great pomp, and was received by the gentry, the clergy, and the multitude with the same demonstrations of loyalty as to their sovereign. This honour, however, soon vanished away; for, on his return to London, about a month afterward, he fell sick, and died on the 29th of November, 1661, at his house in Aldersgate-street. On the 5th of December following he was interred in the south aisle of St Paul's cathedral, opposite to the monument of Lord-chancellor Hatton. The corpse was followed by the earls of Derby and Bridgewater, and many more of the nobility; by the greater part of the bishops in their rochets; by deans and prebendaries of several cathedrals; and by a multitude of clergy, proceeding from Saddler's Hall in Cheapside. The ceremony was marshalled and directed by all the heralds at arms. The funeral service was read by the bishop of London. Over his grave a noble monument was soon afterward erected with a Latin inscription to his memory.

## Dr Henry Holden.

BORN A. D. 1596.—DIED A. D. 1662.

DR HENRY HOLDEN, an eminent catholic divine, was born in Lancashire, of respectable parents, in the year 1596. He studied at Douay, removed to Paris, and was admitted at the Sorbonne, to the degree of D. D. His work, '*Divinæ Fidei Analysis*,' elegantly reprinted, after several prior editions, by Barbon, in 1767, "acquired him," says Butler, "great reputation. His object was to state with exactness, and in the fewest words possible, all the articles of the catholic faith; distinguishing these from matters of opinion. With this view, he succinctly states the subject of inquiry, and the points immediately connected with it; and, after a short discussion of them, inquires, in reference to the subject before him, '*quid necessarie credendum?*' The solution of this question concludes the article. His work gave general satisfaction: it has been translated into English. L'Avocat says, 'it is an excellent work, and comprises, in a few words, the whole economy of religion.' He was unfavourable to Jansenism. 'The work of Jansenius,' he writes in a letter made public by his desire, 'I never read so much as a page, or even a section of it. But as I find that Jansenius, and the five propositions extracted from it (which I condemned from the first) were condemned by Innocent X.—from my respect to so great, and so sacred an authority, I condemn, in the same sense in which they were condemned by him, Jansenius and his propositions.' He subscribed the celebrated censure of the Sorbonne, of the letter of Arnaud to the duke of Liancour, but wished his apology for it to be received."—He died in 1662.

## Bishop Gauden.

BORN A. D. 1605.—DIED A. D. 1662.

THIS prelate was born in 1605, and educated at Cambridge. In 1630, having obtained the rectory of Brightwell, in Berkshire, he took advantage of his proximity to Oxford, to enter that university, in which he proceeded D.D. in 1641. Having been appointed chaplain to Robert, earl of Warwick, he espoused the political principles of his patron, and preached with such acceptance to the house of commons in 1640, that they presented him with a silver cup, bearing this inscription—"Donum honorarium Populi Anglicani in parlamento congregati Johanni Gauden." The next year he received a still more substantial mark of their favour, in being presented to the rich deanery of Bocking, in Essex. Before, however, entering on this appointment, Gauden prudently applied for a collation to it from Archbishop Laud, then a prisoner in the Tower. The archbishop granted it, and Gauden, thus secured against future political contingencies, sat down in his deanery.

Upon the abolition of the hierarchy, it suited Dr Gauden to adopt

presbyterian views of church government, and to take the covenant; this latter step, nevertheless, excited in him 'certain scruples and doubts of conscience,' with which he afterwards favoured the public. He was also one of those divines who signed the protestation against the king's trial; he even went further than most of them on this occasion, for he published a religious and loyal protestation against the contemplated proceedings; and, after the king's death, wrote what he called 'A just invective against those of the army and their abettors who murdered King Charles I.' Had Gauden's zeal on behalf of royalty stopped here he might have preserved his character, and been regarded as an honest, though not a discreet or even perfectly consistent man; but in his future behaviour he betrayed a lamentable want of principle, and clearly indicated the real motives which led him to espouse with such warmth the royalist cause in his incessant applications to Charles II. for promotion and lucrative offices. Soon after the death of Charles I. Gauden made a mean attempt to deceive the public with a work entitled *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*, professing to be the meditations of 'his sacred majesty in his solitude and sufferings.' He gave it out as a genuine work, and as such it was undoubtedly received and estimated for a length of time, but subsequent disclosures have ascertained the forgery, and pretty clearly fixed the authorship of the *Icon* on Gauden.

In 1659, the doctor succeeded Bishop Brownrigg as preacher to the temple, and upon the restoration he succeeded the same bishop in the see of Exeter. In 1662, he was translated to the see of Worcester. Soon after, the richer living of Winchester became the object of his ambition, but he failed in the attempt to secure it, and died the same year.

### Archbishop Juxon.

BORN, A. D. 1582.—DIED, A. D. 1663.

THIS eminent prelate was born in Chichester, and received his grammar learning at Merchant-tailor's school, whence he was elected a fellow of St John's college, Oxford, in 1598. He was at first designed for the bar, and, with this view, studied civil law, and enrolled himself at Grey's inn; but, before completing his terms, he resolved to devote himself to another profession. Having gone through a course of divinity studies, he entered into orders, and, in 1609, was presented by his college to the vicarage of St Giles, Oxford. In 1614, he appears to have held the rectory of Somerton, in the same county. On Dr Laud's resignation of the presidentship of St John's college, Juxon was appointed his successor; and, in 1626, he executed the office of vice-chancellor.

About this time, Charles I. appointed Dr Juxon one of his chaplains in ordinary, and collated him to the deanery of Worcester, along with which he held a prebend of Chichester. For these promotions, he appears to have been indebted to his early patron, Laud, then bishop of London, who soon after obtained for him the clerkship of his majesty's closet. Juxon's principles, at this period, may be understood from Laud's own statement of the motives which induced him to urge

this appointment, namely, that "he might have one that he might trust near his majesty, if he himself grew weak or infirm." The same potent influence procured for Juxon the bishopric of Hereford, in 1633; but, before his consecration to that see, he was elevated to the bishopric of London, vacant by the promotion of Laud to the primacy.

In pursuance of that plan of policy which Laud had early adopted, with the vain hope of placing his order beyond the reach of their enemies, and enlarging the influence and dominion of the church, the new primate prevailed on the king to appoint Bishop Juxon to the office of lord-high-treasurer. This step gave great offence. The office in question was one of the very highest political dignity, and had not been filled by a churchman since the reign of Henry VII., since which period the sentiments of the nation had undergone a complete change on this and many other points of state-policy. The personal virtues of the bishop were acknowledged on all hands; but the investing a clergyman with such an office, and one too "whose name had hardly been known at court above two years," was a proceeding which created great dissatisfaction, and could have been suggested only by a mind wilfully blind to the signs of the times. Laud, however, valued himself not a little on this nomination. It was one of the poor blinded bigot's master-strokes of policy; and he alludes to it, in his diary, in terms of the most complacent self-satisfaction:—"Now," says he, "if the church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more!" The nobility, says Clarendon, "were inflamed" by the appointment upon which Laud so much prided himself; they "began to look upon the church as a gulf ready to swallow up all the great offices of state." Equally dissatisfied were the commons; yet, amidst all this heart-burning and jealousy, no one appears to have accused the high-treasurer of misconduct in his political office, or of the slightest approach to speculation. Neal declares that "enmity could not impeach him;" and Granger, with truth, observes, "even the haters of prelacy could never hate Juxon."

The execution of Strafford finally drove Juxon from his invidious office. He warmly opposed the bill of attainder which had been brought against that notorious political profligate, and earnestly besought the king to withhold his assent from the measure. Finding himself unable to resist the movement party of the day, he resigned his civil office, and retired to his episcopal palace at Fulham. Here he abode the result of that political storm which now brooded darkly and threateningly over the kingdom. Repeated attempts were made by both parties in the State to engage the bishop on their side; but while he avowed himself the friend and supporter of monarchy, he refused to lend himself to the measures now pursuing by the infatuated monarch; and with equal firmness he resisted all overtures made to him by the parliamentary party. At the treaty of the isle of Wight, he attended as one of the commissioners on the king's side, and he afterwards attended his majesty from the commencement of his trial to the last scene on the scaffold. Charles warmly acknowledged the kind offices of the good bishop throughout his imprisonment and trial, and on the scaffold affirmed, that he had been his greatest earthly support and consolation in the hour of adversity.

On the establishment of the commonwealth, Bishop Juxon retired to

his private estate in Gloucestershire ; but he emerged from his obscurity at the Restoration, was elevated to the primacy, and placed the crown on the head of Charles II. He died on the 4th of June, 1663, leaving behind him an unblemished moral reputation.

### John Goodwin.

BORN A. D. 1593.—DIED A. D. 1665.

THIS distinguished polemic and politician was born in Norfolk in 1593. He received his education at Cambridge, where he took his degree of M. A., and was elected a fellow of Queen's college in 1617. On removing from the university he was chosen vicar of the living of St Stephen's, Coleman street, by the parishioners, from which he was afterwards ejected, on account of his refusal to administer ordinances to all his parishioners promiscuously. Having embraced independent principles, the natural warmth of his temper often led him into frequent and unseemly altercation with his presbyterian brethren. He adopted, and defended with much ability, the opinion of universal restoration, and devoted much of his time to the exposition and defence of Arminian tenets. While we cannot doubt for a moment the sincerity of his opinions on these and some collateral topics, we must regret that he should have chosen so frequently to insist on them, and that he should have so often been betrayed into very unguarded language respecting them. His 'Redemption redeemed' will always repay the attentive perusal of a clear-headed man ; and his 'Divine authority of the Scriptures asserted,' is a work of much value and originality. The most obnoxious part of Goodwin's conduct was his vindication of the high court of justice. The pamphlet in which he made this attempt was entitled 'The Obstructors of justice ; or a Defence of the honourable sentence passed upon the late King.' It has been pronounced an absurd, execrable, and even impious publication—a piece of savage republicanism. The following apology has been offered for it by Goodwin's recent biographer, Mr Jackson :—"It is but justice to Mr Goodwin to state, that in defending the army he was not influenced by any dislike of social order, or by any predilection for a republican government, as opposed to a limited monarchy. In the case of King Charles he was evidently misled by his passion for religious freedom. No man ever lived, who understood the rights of conscience better than he, or who was more tremblingly alive to their importance. All dominion over conscience he regarded as a usurpation of the Divine prerogative, and a wicked encroachment upon the most sacred rights of human nature. Whereas the king 'was careful' of episcopal 'uniformity,' and the parliament had issued ordinances in restraint of religious liberty sufficient to disgrace even a Spanish government, and to wound the obduracy of a Bonnet. Had the king, therefore, been restored to the exercise of his regal functions, when the parliament voted his concessions to be a ground for a future settlement, the probability was, according to the opinion of Mr Goodwin and others, that the episcopalians or the presbyterians, or perhaps both, would enjoy the countenance and protection of the State ; and all other bodies of religious people, after a sacrifice of

their property, and an exposure of their lives in the field, would be delivered up to the severities of prosecution. These not improbable anticipations doubtless made a strong impression upon Mr Goodwin's mind, as well as the revenge which he knew to be meditated by the royal party. Under the impulse of those feelings, which such a situation of affairs was calculated to excite, he wrote his two pamphlets in vindication of the army. The political principles inculcated in these publications, as well as in those of his bold compeers, are dangerous and indefensible; they are nevertheless the errors of an ardent and generous mind, desirous, above every thing besides, of restoring to his species those rights which they had received from their Maker, but of which they had been wantonly deprived." This we think satisfactory as an apology for Goodwin. He died in 1665.

Chalmers has treated John Goodwin with more than his usual severity, and, as appears to us, with very little fairness, in the brief notice of him which he has introduced into his 'Biographical Dictionary.' He represents him as a kind of Ishmaelite, whose hand was perpetually raised against the rest of the world, and who found his chief enjoyment in stirring up strife and angry contention. Against such an impeachment we shall only offer one brief extract from this great man's writings: "My God and my conscience," he says, "have deeply engaged me in a warfare, very troublesome and costly; even to contend in a manner with the whole earth, and to attempt the casting down of high things, which exalt themselves against the knowledge of God. And daily experience sheweth, that men's imaginations are their darlings,—that he who toucheth them toucheth the apple of their eye, and appeareth in the shape of an enemy. To bear the hatred and contradiction of the world, is not pleasing to me; notwithstanding the vehemency of desire which possesseth my heart, of doing some service in the world whilst I am a sojourner in it, and leaving it at my departure upon somewhat better terms for the peace and comfort of it, than I found it at my coming, swallows up much of that offensiveness and monstrosousness of taste, wherewith otherwise the measure I receive from many would affect my soul. I have the advantage of old age, and of the sanctuary of the grave near at hand, to despise all enemies and avengers. I know that hard thoughts, and hard sayings, and hard writings, and hard dealings, and frowns, and pourings out of contempt and wrath, abide me. 'But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.' Farewell, good reader, in the Lord; let him have a friend's portion in thy prayers, who is willing to suffer the loss of all things for thy sake, that the truth of the Gospel may come with evidence and demonstration of the Spirit unto thee, and remain with thee. If the embracing of the truth before men keep thee from preferment on earth, it will most assuredly recompense thee seven-fold, yea, seventy times seven-fold in heaven."

## Dr Burgess.

DIED A. D. 1665.

DR CORNELIUS BURGESS was descended from the Burgesses of Batcombe, in Somersetshire. In 1611 he was entered at Oxford. After taking orders, he held successively the rectories of St Magnus, London, and of Watford, Herts. In the beginning of the reign of Charles I., he was made one of the king's chaplains in ordinary. The opposition which he offered to some of Laud's tyrannical measures, drew upon him the indignation of that overbearing prelate. At last he was cited before the high commission court, on a charge of having libelled the bishops in a Latin sermon which he had preached to the London clergy. From this moment he became a decided opponent of the measures pursuing by the court party; and his influence contributed not a little to the adoption of those extreme measures which were afterwards resorted to by the people. "If all the puritans," says Dr Grey, "had been of his rebellious stamp, they had certainly been a wicked crew." Eachard is still more violent in his denunciation of him. He calls him "the seditious Dr Burgess, and one of the greatest Bontefeus of the whole party, being the perpetual trumpeter to the most violent proceedings—a great instrument in bringing on the miseries of the nation." In the beginning of the long parliament, he was appointed by the lords one of the sub-committee for the settlement of religion; and, in the capacity of speaker for the presbyterians, he answered Dr Hacket in the debate in the Jerusalem chamber. He was, however, against imposing the covenant, and refused to take it until he was suspended.

The parliament appointed him one of their preachers; and on the petition of the common council of London, he was appointed Sunday evening lecturer at St Paul's, with a pension of £400 per annum, and the dean's house to live in. He afterwards made an advantageous purchase of the manor of the bishop of Wells, although he had previously declared in public that he held it "by no means lawful to alienate the bishop's lands from public and private uses, or to convert them to any private person's property." On the 14th of January, 1648, he preached a sermon at Mercer's chapel, in which he inveighed with great boldness against the design of bringing the king to trial. Soon after, he drew up, and subscribed, along with fifty-seven other ministers, a paper, entitled, 'A vindication of the ministers of the gospel in and about London, from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former actings for the parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the king to capital punishment.' This document is given at length by Dr Calamy. It may also be seen in Neale's History.

Upon the Restoration, Dr Burgess was deprived of all his property. He retired to Watford, where he devoted himself to the duties of the pastorate; but was at length reduced to such poverty as to be obliged to sell the greater part of his library for his support. A malignant cancer in his neck and cheek added to his many afflictions, and at last put an end to his life in June, 1665. Among Dr Burgess's works are

'A Chain of Graces for reformation of manners,' published in 1622; 'A Vindication of the reasons against the bishops' votes in parliament,' published in 1641; and several single sermons on public occasions.

## Dr Francis Cheynell.

BORN A. D. 1608.—DIED A. D. 1665.

THIS bustling political divine was the son of Dr John Cheynell, a physician in Oxford. He received his education at the university of that city, and was elected fellow of Merton college in 1629. On the breaking out of the civil war, he adhered to the popular cause, and ultimately attached himself to the presbyterian party. The parliament, in return for the many good services he had rendered them, presented him with the valuable living of Petworth, in Sussex. He was afterwards made president of St John's, Oxford, and Margaret professor, but he relinquished both of his academical offices on being pressed to take the engagement. Among many peculiarities by which Dr Cheynell distinguished himself from his clerical brethren, was his love of military tactics. In Essex's campaign in Cornwall, he attended that general in the avowed capacity of chaplain; but he distinguished himself so much by his indomitable courage and military science, that his advice was generally sought on all points of importance connected with the movements of the army.

Dr Cheynell was a man of considerable parts and learning, and published a great many sermons and pieces of polemical divinity in his life-time. No one can accuse Cheynell of want of sincerity in the part he acted in the political and polemical world; but it is to be regretted that he exhibited so little of the *suaviter in modo*, either in his actions or writings. The biographers of Chillingworth in particular accuse him of the most intemperate and unjust conduct towards that eminent and noble-minded man, but had they been willing to deal as fairly by the memory of the one party as of the other, they would have acknowledged the fact, that it was the Socinianism of Chillingworth, not the man himself, that Cheynell detested and inveighed against.

Dr Cheynell died at Brighthelmstone in September, 1665. His principal works are:—'The Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinianism;' 'Chillingworthi Novissima;' 'Letters concerning False Prophets;' 'The Divine Trin-Unity;' and 'Socinianism proved to be an unchristian doctrine.'

## Edmund Calamy, B.D.<sup>1</sup>

BORN A. D. 1600.—DIED A. D. 1666.

EDMUND CALAMY, an eminent Puritan divine, was born of a citizen of London, in February 1600, and admitted student of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, in 1615. He early manifested a predilection for the Cal-

<sup>1</sup> Not D.D., as stated by Dr Watt in the 'Bibliothec. Brit.'



vinistic doctrine, and was honoured with the favour and patronage of Dr Felton, bishop of Ely, who appointed him one of his chaplains. That excellent bishop is said to have assisted him in his early studies, and from the honourable mention which Calamy makes of the bishop, there can be no doubt that he was deeply indebted to him for those high attainments in wisdom and piety which distinguished his character throughout life. His studies were particularly directed to the popish controversy, the Holy Scriptures, and the early Fathers. From his patron he received the vicarage of St Mary in Swaffham, Cambridgeshire, and though he resided in the bishop's house, yet his labours as a parish minister were rendered eminently successful. Soon after the bishop's death, which occurred in 1626, Calamy resigned his vicarage, and went to a lectureship in St Edmund's Bury, Suffolk. In this situation he laboured conjointly with Mr Burroughs, another eminent Puritan, for ten years, when the enforcement of Bishop Wren's articles, and the Book of Sports, constrained him, with thirty other excellent clergymen, to quit the diocese. Soon after this period, however, he was presented to the living of Rochford, in Essex. This removal was found prejudicial to his health. After suffering severely by a quartan ague, he became through life subject to a dizziness in the head, which induced him ever after to preach in the reading desk in preference to the pulpit. In 1639, he was chosen minister of St Mary Aldermanbury, London, and in 1641 he was appointed one of the commissioners selected by the parliament to settle the ecclesiastical differences which at that time agitated the nation. Although, during Bishop Felton's lifetime, Calamy had been a zealous episcopalian, yet it seems time and study had considerably modified his opinions. He now appeared as a decided but temperate defender of the presbyterian discipline. It was about this period that he came forward as one of the authors of the celebrated work which bore the name of '*Smectymnus*.' This was a defence of presbytery against episcopacy, which did much execution. It was the production of five divines, the initial letters of whose names were employed to give a title to the book: these were Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William (UU) Spurstow. It is said by Bishop Wilkins, in his discourse on preaching, to be 'a capital work against episcopacy'; and Calamy himself admits, that it gave the first deadly blow to the cause of the bishops. It drew forth several answers, and was followed up by '*A Vindication*' from the same hands. Both works are written in a forcible and pointed style, and with ample proofs of the extensive learning of the authors. It is now reckoned one of the rarest theological tracts in our language. Notwithstanding the conspicuous part which Mr Calamy took in the controversies of the day, he was much esteemed by men of all parties for his moderation and Christian charity, while his ministerial character stood second to no man in the city of London. His preaching was plain, but impressive and eloquent. His church was attended by persons of the first distinction, was crowded even on the week days, and for twenty years together, Mr Baxter says, there might have been counted at the door upwards of sixty carriages.

Calamy appears to have been as strenuously devoted to an exclusive presbyterianism, as opposed to an exclusive episcopacy. The

free toleration which Cromwell was disposed to grant, excited his fears, and alarmed most of the other presbyterian ministers. On the 18th of January, 1648, they presented to the general and his council of war, what they denominated "the representation" of the London ministers, and which Collier denominates, "an instance of handsome plain dealing, and a bold reprimand of a victorious army." After the failure of the attempt to establish an exclusive system, Calamy confined himself quietly to the duties of his parish, and, during the period of the protectorate, mingled little either in politics or in controversy. After the death of Cromwell, however, he assumed a bolder attitude, and united with the earl of Manchester and other distinguished persons in procuring the restoration of Charles II. He was called to preach before parliament the day before the vote passed for recalling the king to the throne of his ancestors, and was subsequently appointed with other divines, to meet and congratulate him in Holland. After the king's return, he was appointed chaplain in ordinary, and was frequently at court, where he was always graciously received by the monarch; yet, with the other presbyterian divines, he soon experienced the altered tone and manner of men in power. He preached once, and like the rest of his party, but once before the restored king. His utmost efforts were now directed to accomplish such an accommodation as might reconcile the opposite parties into which the church was split. He is stated to have been an active agent in preparing the proposals on church-government which laid the foundation for the Savoy conference. He was subsequently chosen one of the commissioners for preparing exceptions to the liturgy, and after the reasons of the episcopal party had been heard, he was one of the principal persons employed in the reply to them. Notwithstanding his own great influence both at court, in the city, and throughout the country at large, he soon had the mortification of observing that an influence mightier than truth and reason was at work among the distinguished agents of the court, which threatened to bear down all opposition. An anecdote is told of him singularly characteristic of the man and of the times. General Monk being one day among his hearers when he had occasion to speak of 'filthy lucre,' he said, "and why is it called *filthy*, but because it makes men do base and filthy things. Some men," said he, waving his handkerchief (or, as some accounts say, throwing it) towards the pew in which the general sat, "will betray three kingdoms for filthy lucre's sake."

His repute was so high in the city, that the presidency was usually conceded to him in all meetings of the clergy. He had occupied a distinguished place among the Westminster assembly of divines, and after the failure of the Savoy conference, so important was it deemed to gain his concurrence to the views of the episcopal party, that the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry was offered to him. This, however, he resolutely refused, because he could not hold it on the terms of the king's declaration. In 1661, he was chosen by the city clergy to represent them in the convocation, but was not allowed to sit there. A week before the act of uniformity was passed, he perceived the storm was about to burst upon the church, and preached his farewell sermon to his parishioners. His text was taken from 2 Sam. xxiv. 14.

After the act of ejectment, he continued to attend regularly at the

church in Aldermanbury. On one occasion the preacher, who ought to have been there, not appearing, the congregation became urgent for Mr Calamy to take possession of the pulpit. After some entreaty, and to prevent a disappointment, he yielded, and preached from 1 Sam. iv. 13, "Lo, Eli sat upon a seat by the way-side watching, for his heart trembled for the ark of God," &c. The consequence of his temerity was a warrant from the lord-mayor for his apprehension, upon which he was committed to Newgate. This act of severity called around him such a concourse of persons of all ranks, and excited so much dissatisfaction and resentment among the people, that in a few days he was discharged by an express order from the king.

He lived to witness the desolations of the city of London, both by plague and by fire. Being driven in a coach through the ruins, he is said by Mr Baxter to have taken it so much to heart, that when he returned home, he shut himself up in his chamber, and died within a month.

He left in print several sermons preached before both houses of parliament, and funeral sermons for Dr S. Bolton, the earl of Warwick, and Mr Simeon Ash. The sermon which caused his imprisonment, with his farewell sermon, may be seen in the London collection. He published also, 'The Godly Man's Ark,' and a vindication of himself against Mr Burton. He took part, as before stated, in the publications by Smectymnuus, and in the 'Vindication of the Presbyterian Government and Ministry,' 1650, as well as in the 'Jus. Div. Minist. Evang. et Anglicani,' 1654. 'A Treatise of Meditation,' taken by a hearer of his sermons, was printed clandestinely after his death, which occurred on the 26th of October, 1666. Mr Calamy had several children. The eldest, who was named Edmund, was minister of Moreton, in Essex. A second son was Dr Benjamin Calamy, a zealous conformist. The third son, named James, became a conformist, and possessed the living of Cheriton-bishops, Devonshire.

## Jeremy Taylor.

BORN A. D. 1613.—DIED A. D. 1667.

THE seventeenth century was the heroic age of English theology. The divines of that period,—those at least whom we must regard as the fit exponents of the moral and intellectual character of the class of men to which they belonged,—were a Titanic race; they had a giant energy of conception and strength of purpose about them; they exhibited a higher order of feeling,—a sublimer range, and withal a more settled dignity of thought,—than is witnessed in the ordinary sons of men; their enterprises were the conceptions of mighty minds, fully conscious of inward power, and dauntless in every purpose.

Prominent amongst these master-spirits stands the subject of our present memoir. Jeremy Taylor was born at Cambridge in the month of August, 1613. His father pursued in that place the then respectable calling of a barber. Amongst his paternal ancestors was the celebrated Christian martyr, Dr Rowland Taylor of Hadleigh, whose life and death are so beautifully portrayed by Fox, the martyrologist. At three years

of age, Jeremy was sent to the free grammar school in Cambridge, which had just been founded by Dr Perse. At the age of thirteen, he entered as a sizar at Caius college, on one of Dr Perse's foundations.

Little is known of Taylor's university life. The Baconian philosophy was about this time beginning to shed its revivifying rays on the university of Cambridge, but it does not appear from any thing in Taylor's writings that he was greatly smitten with the new inductive philosophy. His works, however, exhibit abundant proof of his intimate acquaintance with the old Aristotelian logic. In 1630-1, he took his first academical degree, and was immediately chosen fellow of his college. Before he had completed his twenty-first year, he was admitted into holy orders; about the same time (1633), he took the degree of M. A. Having gone up to London to assist for a time as lecturer in St Paul's, the young preacher made a deep impression on his metropolitan audience: "by his florid and youthful beauty, his sweet and pleasant air, his sublime and raised discourses, he made his hearers take him for some young angel descended from the visions of glory!" Laud sent for him to preach before him at Lambeth, and was so much pleased with him that he determined to procure for the young divine a fellowship on the munificent foundation of All Souls, Oxford, rightly judging, perhaps, that a longer course of academical study was necessary to the full development of Taylor's genius. Wood says that Taylor profited greatly by the leisure of his learned retirement, and adds, that he occasionally gratified the university by his excellent casuistical discourses. What these were, is not very well known now, for there is but one of his discourses extant in print that seems entitled to such an epithet, namely, his celebrated sermon delivered in St Mary's, Oxford, on the 5th of November, 1638. While enjoying his fellowship at Oxford, Taylor contracted an intimacy with a Franciscan friar, known by the assumed title of Francis a Sancta Clara, but whose real name was Davenport. This gave rise to a rumour that Taylor was secretly inclined to Romanism; but as we find him, at this very period of his life, preaching a powerful argumentative discourse against Popish tenets, we are bound to regard the insinuation just noticed as having been utterly groundless.

In March, 1637-8, Taylor was presented to the rectory of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, by Bishop Juxon. The duties of the charge, added to those of his chaplainry to the archbishop and to the king, withdrew him from academic retirement. "Moreover," says a recent biographer<sup>1</sup> of his, "among the ascetic notions of moral discipline which in some measure distinguished him, that of celibacy was not one; nor was he insensible to that passion which refines all the rest, and cheers the spirit of man as he toils over the arduous steep of life." As soon, then, as preferment enabled him to support a family, he entered into the blessed state of matrimony. His first wife was a Miss Phœbe Langsdale, by whom he had three sons, two of whom grew up to manhood. He was twice married, and must have been happy in both matrimonial connexions, if we may suppose the picture of conjugal happiness which he has drawn in his two sermons on "the Marriage ring" to have been borrowed from his own actual experience.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. T. S. Hughes.

When public affairs began to draw towards a crisis, and Laud had fallen a victim to his own pride and insatiable ambition, Taylor and others, alarmed for the safety of the church, buckled on their armour and presented themselves in the yawning breach left by the death of the primate. Soon after Bishop Hall had published his 'Humble Remonstrance,' (to which several of the most eminent non-conformist ministers replied under the well-known signature of Smectymnus,) Taylor produced a tract, entitled 'Episcopacy asserted against the Ærians and Acephali, new and old,' in which we are assured by Mr Hughes, he defended with great learning and acumen, the divine institution of bishops, "as being the immediate successors of the apostles, commissioned by them, and intrusted with the exercise of the highest apostolic functions." But neither the polemical acumen of these disputants, nor the royal sanction under which they fought, could stem the torrent to which they now opposed themselves. When the misguided and infatuated monarch had appealed to arms, and been driven from his capital by his indignant subjects, Taylor, with a fidelity for which we must admire him, attached himself to the person, and resolved to share the declining fortunes of his sovereign. During several years he continued to accompany the movements of the king's army in the quality of chaplain; and at this period of his history, though he had not the command of time and books, he laid the foundation of many of his subsequent publications.

The utter failure of the royal cause compelled him at last to seek an asylum in Wales. In this situation he composed many of his best practical works, and received much attention even from some of the most distinguished republicans. In reference to this part of his personal history, he writes thus characteristically in the epistle dedicatory to his 'Liberty of Prophesying':—"In the great storm which had dashed the vessel of the church in pieces, he had been cast upon the coast of Wales, and in a little boat thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which, in England in a greater, he could not hope for. There he cast anchor, and thinking to ride safely, the storm followed him with such impetuous violence, that it broke a cable, and he lost his anchor; and here again he was exposed to the mercy of the seas, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish persons nor things. And, but that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of the people, had provided a plank for him, he had been lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But he knew not whether he had been more preserved by the courtesies of his friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy." Bishop Heber is inclined to suspect, that the cause which first drew Taylor away from the scenes of war was a tender one: that he had formed his attachment to the lady, who afterwards became his second wife, during the first visit of King Charles to Wales. The name of the lady was Bridges, and she was generally believed to be a natural daughter of Charles I. Among other means of support to which he was compelled to have recourse during his exile in Wales, was that of keeping a school or academy in partnership with William Nicholson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyatt, who subsequently became prebendary of Lincoln. In conjunction with Wyatt, he published 'A New and Easy Institution of Grammar,' in

the preface to which we find Newton Hall, their place of residence, dignified by the name of *Collegium Newtoniense*.

In August, 1647, Taylor had a last interview with his royal master, and received from him, in token of regard, his watch, with a few pearls and rubies. In the same year, he brought out his 'Liberty of Prophesying,' a work which Bishop Heber regards as the ablest of all his compositions. With respect to the motives that principally induced Taylor to publish this treatise, he ingenuously confesses, that "he intended to make a defensative for his brethren and himself, by pleading for liberty of conscience to persevere in that profession which was warranted by all the laws of God and their superiors." His object then was to obtain free toleration for all, and every sound dissenter will admire the boldness and force of reasoning with which he contends for the freedom of all Christians to exercise their worship. But, it would appear, that after Taylor's position towards the government was altered, and ecclesiastical honours had begun to flow upon him, his opinions on the subject of toleration must have become very materially modified, or he could never have consented to sit as a member of that privy council from which those most intolerant edicts emanated, by which two thousand of the best men the church of England ever contained, were ejected from their pastoral cures, and in many cases imprisoned, and treated with a harshness that embittered and shortened the remainder of their days.

The next in the list of Taylor's literary labours was his 'Life of Christ, or the Great Exemplar.' This work, from its practical and devotional character, soon became exceedingly popular. It has been alleged, that it is merely a translation of a work compiled by a Carthusian monk. But Bishop Heber has successfully vindicated its author from this charge, and demonstrated the dissimilarity of the monk's performance to the 'Great Exemplar.' His next publication was an eloquent and affecting sermon on the death of Lady Carbery, in whose mansion at Llanfihangel he had found an asylum after the failure of his school establishment. Soon after, he published a volume of twenty-seven sermons which he dedicated to Lord Carbery. It is by his sermons that Taylor has been chiefly known to succeeding ages. They are noble compositions, bearing the genuine impress of lofty genius. What, for example, can be finer than the following appeal to a sinner standing before the judgment-seat of God in the great day of final sentence and retribution? "That soul which cries to the rocks to cover her, if it had not been for thy perpetual temptations, might have followed the Lamb in a white robe; and that poor man, that is clothed with shame and flames of fire, would have shined in glory, but that thou didst force him to become partner of thy baseness: and who shall pay for this loss? A soul is lost by thy means; thou hast defeated the holy purposes of the Lord's bitter passion by thy impurities; and what shall happen to thee by whom thy brother dies eternally?" Again, what can be more awful and sublime than the description of the last judgment in the following passage? "In final and extreme events, the multitude of sufferers does not lessen, but increase the sufferings; and when the first day of judgment happened,—that, I mean, of the universal deluge of waters on the old world,—the calamity swelled like the flood; and every man saw his friend perish,

and the neighbours of his dwelling, and the relatives of his house, and the sharers of his joys, and yesterday's bride, and the new-born heir, the priest of the family, and the honour of the kindred,—all dying or dead, drenched in water and the divine vengeance; and then they had no place to flee unto; no man cared for their souls; they had none to go unto for counsel,—no sanctuary nigh enough to keep them from the vengeance that rained down from heaven: And so it shall be at the day of judgment, when that world, and this, and all that shall be born hereafter, shall pass through the same Red sea, and be all baptized with the same fire, and be involved in the same cloud, in which shall be thunderings and terrors infinite; every man's fear shall be increased by his neighbour's shrieks; and the amazement that all the world shall be in shall unite, as the sparks of a raging furnace, into a globe of fire, and roll on its own principle, and increase by direct appearances and intolerable reflections. He that stands in a churchyard in the time of a great plague, and hears the passing bell perpetually telling the sad stories of death, and sees crowds of infected bodies pressing to their graves, and others sick and tremulous, and Death dressed up in all the images of sorrow round about him, is not supported in his spirit by the variety of his sorrow; and at doomsday when the terror is universal, besides that it is in itself so much greater, because it can affright the whole world, it is also made greater by communication and a sorrowful influence; grief being then strongly infectious, when there is no variety of state, but an entire kingdom of fear; and amazement is the king of all our passions, and all the world its subjects; and that shriek must needs be terrible,—when millions of men and women at the same instant shall fearfully cry out,—and the noise shall mingle with the trumpet of the archangel, with the thunders of the dying and groaning heavens, and the crack of the dissolving world,—when the whole fabric of nature shall shake into dissolution and eternal ashes!"

The next great work which employed Taylor's pen was his 'Holy Living and Holy Dying,' in which it has been well observed, all the treasures of ancient literature, all the sterling morality of antiquity, are brought in aid of his impressive subject. Two doctrinal tracts on Baptism, and a disquisition on 'the Real presence and spiritual of Christ in the blessed sacrament,' followed next in order.

In 1654, an attempt was made by some of the royalists to overthrow the commonwealth, and replace the Stuarts on the throne. In consequence of this conspiracy, and of several unguarded expressions which Taylor had used in some of his later publications, particularly in his preface to his manual called 'the Golden Grove,' he fell under suspicion, and was committed to Chepstow castle. It is evident, however, from his own statement, that he was treated with great lenity and indulgence. During his imprisonment, he completed his *Enchiridion*, by the addition of twenty-five sermons, and published his 'Unum Necessarium, or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance.' The latter work was not received with much acceptance even by the church clergy, who justly viewed the author's explication of original sin and views as to the extent of human corruption as at variance with the articles of the church of England. Dr Warner published a general disclaimer on the episcopalian side; and two ministers, Jeanes and Gaule, assailed him on the presbyterian side. Soon after his liberation, Taylor was induced to

remove to London, where he officiated for some time to a small congregation of royalists. In 1658, he accepted an alternate lectureship in the town of Lisburne, at the N.E. extremity of Ireland. From Lisburne he seems to have removed to Portmore, where he found a peaceful retreat during the remainder of the interregnum, and brought to conclusion his great work, the '*Ductor Dubitantium*,' intended to be "a rule of conscience in all her general measures, and a great instrument in determining all her cases." Of this work it has been justly said by Mr Hughes, that the author "has handled his subject with more than ordinary powers of argumentation and casuistical reasoning; but his habits of thinking had too much of the imaginative and excursive cast to fit him thoroughly for that severe method of analysis which this particular train of investigation demands. Hence we find some obliquity of sentiment mingled with many right principles: conceptions clear in themselves are overlaid with words and metaphors,—secondary motives are sometimes substituted for primary springs of moral action,—and the determination of several questions is rendered doubtful by overstrained and overstated arguments on both sides."

When measures were adopted to procure the restoration of the Stuarts, Taylor, with many others, hastened to London. His signature was affixed to the memorable '*Declaration of the nobility and gentry*,' in which a pledge was solemnly and publicly given that "all rancour and former animosities should be buried;"—a pledge which was soon afterwards as publicly violated. The guilt of this treachery is certainly not to be charged on all who subscribed the declaration, but it must have occasioned Taylor, and every honest man amongst them, deep regret to find that they had given a pledge which they were utterly incapable of redeeming.

Almost immediately after the king's accession, Taylor was presented to the bishopric of Down and Connor, to which was afterwards annexed that of Dromore, "on account of his virtue, wisdom, and industry." The composition of several polemical and practical treatises, together with his diocesan duties, seem to have filled up the few remaining years of the bishop's life. His death took place at Lisburne, on the 3d of August, 1667.

Although we cannot agree with those who have assigned to Jeremy Taylor the highest rank amongst his gifted contemporaries, yet we do not think he can with justice be placed very far below the first mind of his age. Milton excepted, we know none to compare with him in luxuriance of fancy, flexibility of imagination, and the boundless command of an exuberant and varied diction. He possessed a powerful, though not always an acute understanding; his disquisitions are often highly ingenious and methodical, and he occasionally exhibits great dexterity in unravelling the intricacies of a difficult question; yet, upon the whole, he is much less characterized by a strong and searching intellect than by a fervent imagination and affluent genius. He is always filled with his subject, and catches his tone from the intrinsic grandeur and loftiness of his theme; sometimes he absolutely labours under the exuberance of his conceptions, and pours forth his "thick-coming fancies" with an energy and prodigality resembling inspiration itself. He always appears to speak from the intimate persuasion of his own heart; hence his language is perpetually rising into the expression



of holy and devout affection. Now and then a tendency towards pious mysticism betrays itself in his writings; but there can be no doubt that the real tone of his mind was sound and vigorous. Perhaps one of the most unpleasing features in the writings of this great and good man is a certain tone of exaggerated sensibility,—an occasional flush of unreal feeling,—a tendency to push his emotions a great deal too far for our ordinary sympathies.

## John Hales.

BORN A. D. 1584.—DIED A. D. 1656.

THIS eminent divine and critic, usually distinguished by the appellation of the 'Ever-memorable,' was the fourth son of John Hales of High Church, near Bath, in Somersetshire. His early education was received in the country. In 1597, he was entered of Corpus college, Oxford, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1603. The reputation which our young collegian had acquired for intellectual powers and moral worth, recommended him to the attention of Sir Henry Saville, then warden of Merton college, who procured for him a fellowship on that foundation. Soon after his admission, he was appointed lecturer in Greek to the college; and assisted his friend, Sir Henry, in preparing his edition of Chrysostom's works.

On the death of Sir Thomas Bodley in 1613, Hales delivered the funeral oration at Merton college, where Sir Thomas was buried. It is reprinted in Bates's 'Vitæ Selectorum.' On the 24th of May, in the same year, he quitted his fellowship at Merton, and was admitted fellow of Eton. He was now in orders, and had acquired considerable reputation as a preacher. In 1616, he held a correspondence with Oughtred, the mathematician. In 1618, he accompanied Sir Dudley Carlton, ambassador to the Hague, in the quality of chaplain to the embassy, by which means he procured admission to the synod, then sitting at Dort. His observations on the proceedings of this celebrated assembly are recorded in his 'Golden Remains.' The effect produced on his own mind by the debates was, that he adopted the Arminian side of the controversy. It does not appear, however, that he was ever a very decided anti-predestinarian. In his sermons he pleads strongly for mutual forbearance and toleration betwixt the two parties. A more weighty charge has been made against him by Dr Heylin, who attributes two Socinian tractates, which have been printed in 'the Phoenix,' to the pen of John Hales. This has been disproved, but the biographers of Hales are compelled to admit that he leaned to the Latitudinarian side in polemics.

About 1636, he wrote his tract on 'Schism.' It was originally compiled for the use of his friend, Chillingworth. Its liberal sentiments drew upon him the displeasure of Laud; but, in a personal conference with the primate, he succeeded in satisfying him that he was a true and orthodox son of the church,—phrases, we presume, which served in those days not so much to disclaim heresy as to distinguish the adherents of the established church from puritans and non-conformists. In 1639, Laud presented Hales with a canonry of Windsor.

After Laud's death, Hales retired from his lodgings in the college to private chambers at Eton, where he remained for a few months in the greatest poverty, having been deprived of the funds from which he had hitherto drawn his support by the sequestration of the college rents. He finally lost his fellowship altogether by his refusal to take the engagement; but soon after he obtained a tutorship in a private family near Colebrook. On the appearance of the proclamation against malignants, Hales refused to allow his kind patroness, Mrs Salter, to incur any risk on his account; and immediately retired to a humble lodging occupied by the widow of one of his own servants, where he resided until his death, which took place in 1666. It has been alleged by some of Hales' biographers, that he died in extreme poverty. But it is difficult to reconcile such a statement with the fact, that we find him bequeathing by will considerable property, both in money and books, to his executrix, Hannah Dickenson, and others.

Hales does not appear to have published any thing himself except his oration at the funeral of Sir Thomas Bodley. In 1659, however, there appeared a collection of his works with this title, 'Golden Remains of the ever-memorable Mr John Hales of Eton college,' &c. of which a second edition, with additional pieces, appeared in 1673. This collection consists of sermons, miscellanies, and letters. In 1677, another fasciculus of his works appeared, consisting of a variety of theological tracts, and some short pieces, entitled 'Miscellanies.' Lord Hales edited a beautiful edition of his works in 1765.

### William Spurstowe, D. D.

DIED A. D. 1666.

Dr WILLIAM SPURSTOWE, one of the authors of 'Smectymnuus,' was master of Katharine-hall, Cambridge, when 'the Engagement' was enforced upon the universities. He declined to take it, and was ejected from his mastership in consequence. His attainments and character, however, were so universally respected, that he was chosen one of the Savoy commissioners, and attended the negotiations with Charles I. at Newport. Baxter mentions him among "those famous and excellent divines who attended the earl of Essex's army," and adds, that he was chaplain to Hampden's regiment. He died at Hackney in 1666. Besides the part he took in Smectymnuus, he was author of several religious treatises and sermons.

### Isaac Ambrose.

BORN A. D. 1591-2.—DIED A. D. 1668.

ISAAC AMBROSE, an eminent non-conformist minister, born 1591-2, was first minister of the town of Preston, in Lancashire, from whence he removed to Garstang, in the same county, where he continued till the passing of the act of uniformity in 1662, when he quitted his living. He died two years after, in the seventy-second year of his

age. He is described by his contemporaries as a man of great excellence, and of an exemplary life, both as a minister and private Christian. It was his custom once a-year to withdraw from all the active duties of life, that he might give himself to devotion and contemplation. He used to retire to some cottage or hut in a wood, or other secluded place, where he refused all converse with the world. This unusual practice contributed, in all probability, to that eminent piety and extensive usefulness which are recorded of him. After his ejection he retired to Preston, the scene of his first ministerial labours; and becoming deeply conscious of his approaching end, prepared for it with Christian fortitude, and met it with hopeful resignation. Some of his people from Garstang having come to visit him a short time before his death, he gave them much good advice, and discoursed of his death with unusual seriousness. He told them he was now ready whenever his Lord should call, and that he had finished all he ever designed to write, having only the night before sent off to press his 'Discourse concerning angels.' He then accompanied his friends to their horses, and on his return to his house, shut himself up in his parlour, the ordinary place of his retirement. Here he continued longer than usual. The circumstance awakened the anxiety of those about him, and at length they opened the door, and found him just expiring. He published several theological works, both in English and Latin: the most celebrated of these was entitled 'Looking to Jesus.' The whole were collected and published in 1674, and have been several times reprinted.

### Joseph Allein.

BORN A. D. 1633.—DIED A. D. 1668.

JOSEPH ALLEIN, an eminent non-conformist minister, was born at Devizes, in Wiltshire, in 1633. At the age of sixteen he entered Lincoln college, Oxford, and in 1651 was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi. In 1653 he was elected to the chaplainship, which he is said to have chosen in preference to a fellowship. His college career was distinguished by great diligence in his studies, and faithful attention to the duties of his office. He usually allowed himself but three hours for sleep, and frequently gave away his 'commons' that his studies might not be interrupted. In 1655 he became assistant minister to Mr Geo. Newton at Taunton. In the labours of his ministry he was distinguished by energy, fidelity, and affection.

Before the passing of the act of uniformity in 1662, it was expected that he would have conformed; but when he saw the clauses to which his *assent* and *consent* were required, he determined to refuse submission. He was fully resolved, however, not to suspend his preaching until he should be prevented by violence. Accordingly, he even redoubled his labours—preaching sometimes seven, ten, or even fourteen sermons a-week, in Taunton and its neighbourhood. Such was the respect felt for him that he was permitted to continue these labours undisturbed till May 26, 1663, when he was committed to Ilchester jail. In August he was tried at the assizes for holding a riotous and seditious

assembly. The verdict was given against him, and he was sentenced to pay a fine of a hundred marks, and to be imprisoned till the fine was paid. On his recommitment to prison, he was confined with upwards of sixty others, mostly quakers and nonconformists, in one room, where they all suffered greatly from the closeness of the place, and were constrained to take out the glass from the windows and remove some of the tiles from the roof to obtain fresh air. He continued nearly a year in confinement, and upon his release, commenced his public labours again. He had large congregations in various places, who were much attached to him. In July, 1665, he was again arrested, and with seven other ministers, and forty private persons, was committed to the jail at Ilchester. During his imprisonments he laboured diligently both to promote the welfare of all his fellow-prisoners, and by his writings to serve those who had composed his flock. He died in 1668. He was a man of distinguished piety, and of a most exemplary deportment. A long and interesting account of him is given in 'Clark's Lives.' He published several works, amongst which the 'Alarm to the Unconverted' is best known, and has been most extensively circulated. He wrote in Latin a body of natural theology, in which he first laid down the Christian doctrines, and then added testimonies from the ancient philosophers. Soon after his death, an account of his life, labours, and sufferings, was published by Mr R. Allein, R. Fairclough, G. Newton, and his widow. Mr Baxter wrote the Introduction, and two conformist ministers gave it their sanction.

### Anthony Tuckney, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1599.—DIED A. D. 1669.

THIS learned and eminent divine was born at Kirkton, near Boston, in Lincolnshire, in September 1599. His father was minister at that place. At fourteen years of age, he matriculated of the university of Cambridge, being admitted of Emanuel college. In 1620, he proceeded M.A., and was some time resident in the earl of Lincoln's family. In 1627 he took his degree of B.D., after which he became assistant to John Cotton, then vicar of Boston, afterwards a distinguished leader in the New England churches.

When the assembly of divines met at Westminster, Tuckney was one of the two representatives sent up from Lincolnshire. Soon after this, he accepted the rectorship of St Michael Querne, in Cheapside. In 1645, he succeeded Dr Holdsworth in the mastership of Emanuel college, and three years afterwards was chosen vice-chancellor. On the removal of Dr Arrowsmith to Trinity college, Dr Tuckney was chosen master of St John's, and two years after, regius professor of divinity.

After the restoration he resigned his mastership and professorship, but was allowed a retiring pension of £100 per annum. He died in London, in February 1670. Calamy bears this testimony to his merits, that he had the character of an eminently pious and learned man, a true friend, an indefatigable student, a candid disputant, and an earnest preacher of truth and godliness. His candour and liberality

are eminently manifested in his 'Eight letters concerning the use of reason in religion,' &c., addressed to Dr Whichcote. His other works are 'Sermons,' and '*Conciones ad clerum*.'

### Edmund Staunton, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1600.—DIED A. D. 1671.

DR EDMUND STAUNTON was of the family of the Stanntons in Bedfordshire. From his earliest years he was a diligent student, and while yet under-graduate, was chosen a probationer fellow of Oxford before eighteen of his seniors. He entered into orders early in life, and preached his first lecture at Witney in Oxfordshire. His first living was that of Bushy in Hertfordshire. In 1635, when the book of Sports came out, he was one among many who were suspended for not reading it. During his suspension he took the degree of D.D. at Oxford. On the meeting of the Westminster assembly, Dr Staunton was chosen a member, and appointed one of the six morning preachers.

In 1648, when the visitors discharged Dr Newlin from the headship of Corpus Christi college, Dr Staunton succeeded him, and introduced a very excellent code of discipline into that establishment. His government was in the highest degree beneficial to the interests of the college, over which he presided twelve years, until discharged from office in 1660. After this he devoted the remainder of his life to the preaching of the gospel in and around St Albans. He died on the 14th of July 1671. A few of his practical treatises have been published.

### Vavasour Powell.

BORN A. D. 1617.—DIED A. D. 1671.

VAVASOUR POWELL was a native of Radnorshire, and educated in Jesus college, Oxford. He was descended, on his father's side, from the Powells of Knocklas, in Radnorshire; and, on the mother's, from the ancient family of the Vavasours. On leaving the university, he perambulated his native country, preaching the gospel wherever he could obtain an audience. It being objected to him, however, that he had not received any kind of ordination, he went to London and obtained, in 1646, a testimonial of his religious and blameless conversation, and of his abilities for the work of the ministry, signed by Mr Herle, and seventeen members of the assembly of divines. Thus furnished, he returned to Wales, where he became a most indefatigable and active evangelist: traversing the country in every direction, visiting the mountain hamlets, attending the fairs and markets, and preaching in every place where he could gain admittance either by night or day. In the midst of all this incessant labour, and of the personal privations to which it exposed him, he maintained the appearance and deportment of a gentleman. He was also exceedingly hospitable and

generous, and would not only entertain and lodge, but clothe the poor and aged, although his whole means of subsistence did not amount to £100 per annum.

At the dawn of the restoration, being known to be a fifth monarchy man, he was taken into custody, and was ultimately confined in the Fleet, London, where he died in October, 1671. His religious sentiments were those of a Sabbatarian Baptist, and he was the founder of upwards of twenty churches in Wales professing similar sentiments.

### Bishop Wilkins.

BORN A. D. 1614.—DIED A. D. 1672.

THIS ingenious and learned prelate was the son of Walter Wilkins, citizen and goldsmith of Oxford. He was born in 1614, at Fawsley, near Daventry in Northamptonshire. His earliest teacher was Edward Sylvester. At the age of thirteen he entered New-inn hall, Oxford, whence he removed to Magdalen hall, where he took his degrees in arts.

On obtaining orders, he became chaplain to William, Lord Say ; afterwards he attended, in the same character, upon the count-palatine of the Rhine, to whom the proficiency which our young divine was known to have made in mathematical studies was a high recommendation. Upon the breaking out of the civil war, Wilkins took the league and covenant. He was afterwards made warden of Wadham college. In 1648 he was created D.D. In 1656, he married Robina, widow of Peter French, and sister of the lord-protector. In 1659, he was made master of Trinity college, Cambridge, but was ejected thence the year following. He then became preacher to the society of Gray's inn, and was chosen a member of the royal society's council.

His eminent scientific talents, and the patronage of Villiers, procured for him some notice at court, and the bishopric of Chester was ultimately bestowed upon him, though not without considerable opposition from the primate Sheldon. He did not enjoy his preferment long. He died on the 19th of November, 1672. Burnet bears this testimony of him, that "he was a man of as great a mind, as true a judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as good a soul as any he ever knew." All the works which Bishop Wilkins published are learned and ingenious. His first was the famous piece entitled, 'The discovery of a new world ; or a discourse tending to prove that it is probable there may be another habitable world in the moon ; with a Discourse concerning the possibility of a passage thither.' This was a juvenile production, but the bishop in his old age adhered to the speculations of his youth, in spite of the ridicule to which they exposed him. The reader may be curious to know what the means of conveyance were which Wilkins proposed to employ in a journey to the moon ; and we shall allow him to explain them in his own language :—"If it be here inquired," says he, "what means there may be conjectured for our ascending beyond the sphere of the earth's magnetical vigour, I answer : 1st. It is not, perhaps, impossible that a man may be able to flye by the application of wings to his oune body, as angels are pictured, and as Mercury and Dædalus are fained, and as hath been attempted by divers, particularly

by a Turke in Constantinople, as Busbequius relates. 2d. If there be such a great Ruck in Madagascar as Marcus Polus, the Venetian mentions, the feathers in whose wings are twelve feet long, which can soope up a horse and his rider, or an elephant, as our kites doe a mouse, why then it is but teaching one of these to carry a man, and he may ride up thither as Ganymed does upon an eagle. 3d. Or, if neither of these ways will serve, yet I doe seriously and upon good grounds, affirm it possible to make a flying chariot, in which a man may sit, and give such a motion into it as shall convey him through the aire." The mathematical and philosophical works of this enthusiastic projector were collected and published in one 8vo. volume in 1708. His theological works consist of discourses on preaching, on providence, and on prayer, also sundry sermons, and a posthumous work on 'the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion.'

### Philip Nye.

BORN A. D. 1596.—DIED A. D. 1672.

THIS celebrated nonconformist was a native of Sussex. He was born of a genteel family in 1596, and educated at Magdalene college, Oxford. In 1630 he was curate of St Michael's, Cornhill. In this situation he soon made himself obnoxious to the high church party, and to avoid Laud's persecuting measures, retired to Holland in 1633. While abroad, he chiefly resided at Arnheim. In 1640 he ventured to return home, and was soon after made minister of Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire.

In 1643 he was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and was sent by that body, in conjunction with Stephen Marshall, whose daughter he had married, to procure the assistance of the Scots. On his return, when parliament assembled to take the covenant in St Margaret's church, Westminster, he was the person who read it from the pulpit, and endeavoured to show its warrant from scripture. He was also one of the committee who drew up the preface to the Directory, which was to be substituted for the book of Common prayer. When the presbyterian party insisted on establishing their own form of church-government, Nye left them, and threw the weight of his talents and influence into the independent side.

After the restoration, he was ejected from his charge, and it was even debated in council whether he should not be excepted for life, on the ground of the extraordinary share he had taken in promoting revolutionary measures and principles. He employed the declining years of his life in preaching the gospel as he had opportunity amongst the dissenters in the metropolis. He died in 1672. Nye wrote and published a considerable number of polemical and political tracts.

## Bishop Hacket.

BORN A. D. 1592.—DIED A. D. 1670.

JOHN HACKET, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, was born in London in 1592. He was admitted, when yet very young, into Westminster school, where his diligence and proficiency procured for him the favourable notice of Dr Andrews, then dean of Westminster. In 1608, along with Herbert the poet, he was elected to Trinity college, Cambridge, of which college, after taking the proper degrees, he was chosen fellow. He took orders in 1618, and was collated to the rectory of Stoke-Hamon, in Buckinghamshire. In 1621, Bishop Williams, lord-keeper of the great seal, appointed Hacket his chaplain. Two years afterwards, James I. placed him on the list of his chaplains, and gave him the rectorship of St Andrews, Holborn, in London, and Cheam, in Surrey.

In 1625, he was appointed to attend an embassy from the court of England to Germany; but, recollecting how sarcastically he had treated the Jesuits in a Latin comedy, entitled '*Loyola*,' which he composed in early life at Newstead abbey, the seat of the Byrons, he got alarmed at the prospect of visiting the continent, and declined the appointment. Preferment, however, still continued to flow in upon him. In 1641, he was made archdeacon of Bedford. In March 1641, he was appointed by the house of lords one of the sub-committee on the reformation of the liturgy. We hear little more of him from this period until 1648, when he attended Henry Rich, earl of Holland, on the scaffold.

After the restoration, Hacket recovered all his preferments, and was offered the bishopric of Gloucester, which he refused; but he accepted shortly after that of Lichfield and Coventry, to which he was consecrated in December 1661. In the ensuing year, he repaired Lichfield cathedral—which had suffered greatly during the civil wars—at his own expense. He also added some buildings to Trinity college, Cambridge. He died at Lichfield, in October 1670.

A century of Bishop Hacket's sermons was published by Dr Plume in 1675. They are inelegant compositions, with all the quaintness, but little of the force of Bishop Reynold's discourses. His '*Life of Archbishop Williams*,' is a good piece of biography. It is said he intended to have done a similar service to the memory of that royal pedagogue, James I., but was disheartened by the loss of his manuscript collections during the interregnum. According to his own biographer, Dr Plume, Bishop Hacket, though a tolerant episcopalian, was very zealous against popery. Trained under Davenant and Ward, he leaned towards Calvinistic views in doctrine. In his younger years, he had applied himself with great diligence to the study of the scholastic logic; but, as he advanced in life, he perceived the futility of the study, and declared "that he found more shadows and names than solid juice and substance in it; and much disliked their horrid and barbarous terms, more proper for incantation than divinity; that he became perfectly of Beatus Rhenanus's mind, that the schoolmen were rather to



be reckoned philosophers than divines ; but, if any pleased to account them such, he had much rather, with St John Chrysostom, be styled a pious divine, than an invincible or irrefragable one with Thomas Aquinas, or our own countryman, Alexander Hales. For knowledge in the tongue," continues Dr Plume, "he would confess he could never fix upon Arabian learning,—the place was *siticolosa regio*, 'a dry and barren land, where no water is;' and he being discouraged in his younger years by such as had plodded most in it, and often quarrelled with his great friend Salmasius, for saying he accounted no man solidly learned without skill in Arabic and other eastern languages."

### Joseph Caryl.

BORN A. D. 1602.—DIED A. D. 1673.

THIS eminent non-conformist divine was born in London in 1602, and educated at Exeter college, Oxford. He preached for several years with considerable acceptance before the society of Lincoln's inn, and was a member of the Westminster assembly. In 1653 he was appointed one of the 'triers' for the examination and licensing of preachers. He was subsequently sent by the parliament to attend Charles I. at Holmby house, and was one of the commissioners in the treaty of the isle of Wight. In 1650, in company with Dr Owen, he attended on Cromwell in Scotland.

Soon after his ejection from the rectory of St Magnus, in London, in 1662, he gathered a congregation in the same neighbourhood, to whom he preached as the times would permit, until his death on the 7th of February, 1673. Caryl was a man of considerable parts and learning, and indefatigable industry. His personal piety was unquestionable ; in his views of church government he was an independent. His principal work is an exposition of the Book of Job, which was first published in twelve volumes 4to, but is more commonly met with now in two volumes folio.

### Hugh Paulin Cressey.

BORN A. D. 1603.—DIED A. D. 1674.

HUGH PAULIN CRESSEY, a celebrated Roman catholic writer of the seventeenth century, was born of respectable parents, at Wakefield, in 1603, and was taught the first rudiments of learning at a grammar-school in that town. In 1619, he went to Oxford ; and in 1626, was admitted fellow of Merton college. He took the degree of A. M., and entering into holy orders, became chaplain to Viscount Falkland, accompanied his lordship to Ireland, and was promoted, by his interest, to a canonry in the collegiate church of Windsor, and to the deanery of Laughen, in Ireland. On the death of his patron, he accepted a proposal that was made him of making the tour of Italy with Mr Bertie, afterwards created earl of Falmouth ; and whilst thus engaged, and after a serious examination of the doctrine and discipline of the church of

Rome, he made a public profession of its faith in 1646. He then repaired to Paris, and studied theology with great attention, under the celebrated Henry Holden, doctor of the Sorbonne. The fruit of his studies appeared in his 'Exomologesis, or a Faithful Narrative of the occasions and motives of his conversion to Catholic unity.' Two editions of this work have appeared, one in 1647, the other in 1658. Cressey afterwards became a monk of the order of St Benedict, in the abbey of English monks at Douay; and, at his profession, took the name of Serenus, by which he was afterwards generally known in the learned world. His conversion did not deprive him of the friendship of several of his protestant acquaintances. The learned Dr Henry Hammond having received from him a copy of his 'Exomologesis,' declined, in the language of friendship, to become his antagonist, "that he might give no disturbance to a person, for whom he had," as he expressed himself, "so great a value, and who could have no humane consideration in the change he had made." Cressey remained seven years in the Benedictine convent at Douay. Here he became acquainted with the manuscript writings of Father Baker, a laborious collector of antiquities, relating to the ecclesiastical history of England, and a great master of ascetic science. Baker was in correspondence with Camden, Sir Henry Spelman, Sir Robert Cotton, Mr Selden, and several other antiquaries of eminence, and left behind him large manuscript treasures. To these Reyner, the author of the 'Apostotatus Benedictorum in Anglia,' was greatly indebted, and from some of them Cressey collected his 'Sancta Sophia; or Directions for the prayer of contemplation,' in two volumes 8vo. Douay, 1657,—a work, according to Butler, highly deserving the attention of all, who either study the philosophy, or seek to acquire the practice of mystic devotion. Of Father Baker's manuscript collections, Cressey also availed himself in the composition of his 'Church history of Brittany, from the beginning of Christianity to the Norman conquest,' Roen, 1668, in one volume folio. This is a work of great labour and much accuracy, although the bulk and substance of it is taken from Father Griffin's 'Ecclesiastical Annals.' He left in manuscript a second part of this history, which carried it down, it is said, to his own times. It was preserved in the Benedictine convent at Douay, and is supposed to have perished in the general devastation at the French revolution. Father Cressey had respectable antagonists; and among them, Lord Clarendon and Dr Stillingfleet. A new edition of his Exomologesis, with a succinet view of the controversy between Cressey and his two great opponents, would, says Butler, form an interesting manual of catholic controversy. On the marriage of Charles II. with the Infanta of Portugal, Cressey became one of his chaplains, and resided in Somerset-house. In the decline of life, he retired to East Grinstead, and died at the seat of Richard Caryl, Esq. in 1674, in the 71st year of his age.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Biog. Brit.—Butler's Memoirs of Catholics, vol. iv.

## John Lightfoot, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1602.—DIED A. D. 1675.

THIS learned and pious presbyterian divine, so distinguished for his Hebrew lore, was born in March 1602, in the rectory house at Stoke-upon-Trent, in Staffordshire. His father, Thomas Lightfoot, who was the incumbent of that living, was ranked among the puritans, and was a man much esteemed for his learning and piety. His mother was Elizabeth Bagnall, a lady of respectable family, and of exemplary piety. He had four brothers, Thomas, the eldest, brought up to trade, Peter, a physician, and Josiah and Samuel, clergymen.

Dr Lightfoot received the rudiments of his education under the care of Mr Whitehead, at Morton Green, near Congleton, Cheshire. At the age of fifteen he was removed to Christ's college, Cambridge. Here he enjoyed the superior advantage of having for his tutor the learned and excellent William Chappel, the tutor of John Milton and Dr Henry More.

Lightfoot pursued his studies in general literature with great ardour, and was considered by his tutor as the best orator of all the undergraduates in the university. He is said, however, to have had no taste for the technicalities of dialectical disputation, nor even to have paid much attention to Hebrew learning, in which he afterwards became so eminent.

After a residence of four years at college, and taking his bachelor's degree, he returned to his former preceptor, Mr Whitehead, who was now master of Repton school, in Derbyshire. After remaining here two years as an assistant in the school, he entered into holy orders and commenced his ministry at Norton-under-Hales, Salop. Here he became acquainted with Sir Rowland Cotton, Knt., who resided at Belaport in that neighbourhood, and who was distinguished for his profound knowledge of Hebrew. At the age of seven he is said to have been able to read fluently the Biblical Hebrew, and to have made such progress, as to have readily conversed in the language. To this study he had been early directed by the instructions of Mr Hugh Broughton, who was a frequent guest at his father's house in London.

Sir Rowland having frequently put questions to Mr Lightfoot on the subject of the Hebrew Scriptures, with which, by his profession, he was supposed to be acquainted, though, in truth, he was a mere novice, the young minister felt ashamed of his deficiency; and was stimulated the more to apply diligently to this study, that he might not be less informed in an important branch of his sacred profession than his patron, a private gentleman. Here, therefore, he laid the foundation for his Rabbinical learning, in which he received all possible assistance and encouragement from his worthy patron. With him he continued till Sir Rowland left the country to reside with his family in London, at the request of Sir Allen Cotton, his uncle, who was then lord-mayor of the city.

Mr Lightfoot soon followed his patron to the metropolis, but returned in a short time to the country to visit his parents, residing at

Uttoxeter, with a view of taking leave of them previously to an intended tour on the continent. Having left home with this purpose, he was detained on his way at Stone, in Staffordshire, and, by importunity, persuaded to abandon his further travels, and become minister of that place, then destitute. Here he continued about two years, and, in May, 1628, married Joyce, the daughter of William Crompton of Stone Park, Esq., and widow of George Copwood of Dilverne, in the county of Stafford, Gent.

Not being able to procure those books which his studies required, Mr Lightfoot removed to Hornsey, near London, that he might be in the vicinity of the library of Sion college, to which he often resorted. During this period, he gave to the public, in 1629, a specimen of his studies, by the publication of his 'Erubhim, or Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical.' He was now 27 years of age, and was well-acquainted with the Latin and Greek Fathers, as well as the classics. After a residence of two years in this place, he removed with his family to Uttoxeter; and, after a residence there for six months, his patron, Sir Rowland Cotton, presented him to the rectory of Ashley, in Staffordshire. Here he remained for twelve years in the faithful discharge of his pastoral duties, and in the most assiduous cultivation of his favourite studies in Hebrew learning, spending most of his days in the delightful seclusion of a small dwelling, consisting of three apartments, which he had erected for this purpose, in the midst of a garden near the parsonage house. From this calm retreat, he was induced, but not without much reluctance, to depart to enter into the arena of polemical strife then commenced in the metropolis. His abilities soon attracted notice, and he was speedily called to be the minister of St Bartholomew's, near the Exchange, in London; and was also appointed a member of the assembly of divines, which met, A.D. 1643, in Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster, by authority of parliament, for the purpose of deliberating on the agitated points of doctrine and discipline in the church, and delivering their solemn opinion. In this sphere, Lightfoot's attainments had full scope for exercise and use. Questions were continually arising in which his extensive knowledge of Hebrew and of Jewish antiquities was of great importance. In some points he differed from his brethren, but on the whole was decidedly favourable to the presbyterian mode.

In the course of the year 1643, Dr Lightfoot was made master of Catherine-hall by the parliamentary visitors of Cambridge, in the room of Dr Spurston, and before the close of the same year was appointed to the rectory of Much-Munden, in the county of Hertford, void by the death of Dr Samuel Ward, the Margaret professor of divinity in Cambridge.

Occasionally Dr Lightfoot was called to preach to the house of commons. Among other topics of reform he strongly recommends a revision of the authorized version of the Scriptures of 1611. On this subject he says: "I hope you will find some time among your serious employments, to think of a review and survey of the translation of the bible; certainly, that might be a work which might very well benefit a reformation, and which would very much redound to your honour. It was the course of Nehemiah, when he was reforming, that he caused not the law only to be read, and the sense given, but also caused the

people to understand the reading.' And, certainly, it would not be the least advantage, that you might do to the three nations (if not the greatest) if they be your care ; and means might come to understand the proper and genuine reading of the Scripture, by an exact, vigorous, and lively translation. I hope (I say it again) you will find some time to set afoot so needful a work ; and now you are about the purging of the temple, you will look into the oracle, if there be any thing amiss there, and remove it." He adds : " I beseech you, hasten the settling of the church. I rejoice to see what you have done in platforming classes and presbyteries ; and I verily and cordially believe, it is according to the pattern in the mount."

He commenced doctor in divinity in the year 1652, and then preached a Latin sermon from 1 Cor. xvi. 22, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maran-atha." In 1655, Dr Lightfoot was chosen vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, which office he discharged with great care and diligence, at the same time faithfully performing his duties as a pastor, when not required to attend in his offices at the university. Indeed, being now in the very prime of life, his days were all most busily occupied with the most important engagements. Beside his public duties, he was employed laboriously in writing those works which have instructed the world, and in assisting the learned in their magnificent undertakings for the promotion of sacred literature. The sheets of Walton's polyglott passed under his perusal as they came from the press, and he assisted that noble work in various ways by furnishing criticisms, especially on the Samaritan Pentateuch, lending MSS., contributing Rabbinical notes, &c., beside procuring subscriptions to the work. On its completion, under the substantial patronage of Cromwell and the council, Lightfoot delivered a speech at the university commencement, wherein he congratulates the university on the accomplishment of a work so honourable to the English nation.

Dr Lightfoot was also a promoter of that great work undertaken by Dr Castell, the Lexicon Heptaglotton, wherein he was encouraged, assisted, and comforted by Dr Lightfoot, when almost deserted by the bishops and others who had undertaken to patronize the work. Another great and lasting monument of sacred learning, Poole's Synopsis Criticorum, was also encouraged and assisted by this patron of great works for the elucidation of the sacred Scriptures, to which object Lightfoot's life was chiefly dedicated.

By the interest of Sir Orlando Bridgman, lord-keeper of the great seal, Dr Lightfoot was presented to a prebendal stall in Ely cathedral. In 1660, he attended on the side of the presbyterian divines, at the conference held at the bishop of London's lodgings, at the Savoy, relative to alterations and corrections in the book of Common Prayer. He himself did not practically conform to the rubric, not wearing the surplice, and selecting only certain portions of the Liturgy for public worship.

In the latter part of the year 1675, while travelling from Cambridge to Ely, the Doctor caught a violent cold. During his indisposition, he was persuaded to eat a red herring, and drink two or three glasses of claret. A fever immediately ensued, occasioned, or at least heightened (as his physicians pronounced) by a diet to which he was alto-

gether unaccustomed, his usual beverage being only water or table-beer. His head being much oppressed, without much bodily pain, he fell into a state of torpor. At intervals, his mind recovered its wonted power, and his habitual piety marked his last hours. When questioned as to his state, his usual reply was, "I feel myself in the hands of a good God." In this lethargic condition, having continued for a fortnight, he expired Dec. 6, 1675, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. His remains were removed to Munden, where he had been minister for thirty-two years, and Mr Fulwood, formerly of Catherine-hall, preached his funeral sermon.

Dr Lightfoot had four sons and two daughters by his first wife, viz. John, chaplain to Bishop Walton; Anastasius, also named 'Cottonus Jacksonus,' in memorial of the Doctor's friends, Sir R. Cotton and Sir J. Jackson; Athanasius, a tradesman; and Thomas, who died young. His daughter, Joyce, was married to Mr Duckfield, rector of Aspeden, in Hertfordshire; and Sarah, to Mr Colclough, a gentleman of Staffordshire. With his first wife he lived nearly thirty years. His second wife was Mrs Ann Brograve, a widow, related to Sir T. Brograve, Bart., a gentleman dear to Lightfoot, from his having a relish for Rabbinical learning. He had no children by his second wife, whom he survived.

Dr Lightfoot is said to have possessed a mild countenance, as appears by his portrait, and a ruddy complexion. He was grave, but affable and courteous, and very communicative to inquirers; plain, unaffected, and gentlemanly in his behaviour. If by chance he were present when rude or profligate conversation was introduced, he would testify his disapprobation by silence and speedy withdrawal from the company. On returning home from a journey, it was his custom to pass directly to his study, and not to converse with his family, until he had previously acknowledged the providence of God in his private devotions. He was particularly susceptible of gratitude for any kindness and favour, of which his pathetic and passionate expressions in the funeral sermon which he preached for his good patron, Sir Rowland Cotton, sufficiently testify; and all his learning and virtues were adorned with the covering of unaffected modesty and humility. He lived upon the best terms with persons of religious sentiments differing from his own. His house, says Strype, was a continual hospital, none went away unrelieved. He would frequently bring poor people within doors to his fire, and in winter found them occupation in spinning and other employments. Whenever his duties required him to be at Ely, or Cambridge, he was wont to express his desire to return to his flock, whom he familiarly termed his dear 'russet-coats.'

Dr Lightfoot's numerous works were published in a collective form in 1684, in 2 vols. folio, under the joint care of Dr George Bright, rector of Loughborough, and the Rev. John Strype, M.A., of Low Leighton, Essex. Other editions followed; and the last edition of his entire works was published by the London booksellers in 1825, in 13 vols. 8vo, edited by the Rev. J. R. Pitman, A.M.

## Isaac Barrow.

BORN A.D. 1630.—DIED A.D. 1677.

ISAAC BARROW, an eminent mathematician and divine, was born in the city of London, in the month of October, 1630. His father, Thomas Barrow, who survived him, is honourably recorded as "a citizen of London, of good reputation." He was linen-draper to Charles I., whom he followed to Oxford; continuing, indeed, through life, a steady adherent to the royal cause. His brother, Isaac Barrow, uncle to the subject of this memoir, was educated at Cambridge for the church, and became fellow of Peterhouse. He was ejected for writing against the covenant, and, during the commonwealth, experienced great varieties of hard fortune. At the Restoration, he was re-instated in his fellowship, and, soon after, raised to the bishopric of the isle of Man. For some years he was made governor of that island by the earl of Derby. He was translated to the see of St Asaph in 1669, when his nephew, Isaac Barrow, preached his consecration sermon. He died in 1680. There was another Isaac Barrow, brother to the great-grandfather of the subject of this memoir. He was a doctor of medicine, and, in his youth, tutor to Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury. The early youth of Dr Barrow was unpromising. He was sent to the Charter-house school, where he showed no disposition for learning, and was chiefly remarkable for encouraging quarrels and fighting among his school-fellows. His worthy father was often heard to say, that if it pleased the Lord to remove any of his children, he wished it might be his son Isaac.

"Nescia mens hominum fati, sortisque futuræ!"

He was removed to Felstead, in Essex, where his successful diligence in study speedily confuted all his father's gloomy prophecies, and procured him the situation of tutor to Lord Fairfax of Emely, in Ireland. In 1643 he was admitted a pensioner of Peterhouse, Cambridge, of which, however, he does not appear to have been long a member, owing, probably, to the expulsion of his uncle. He entered Trinity college in 1645. At this time the fortunes of his family were greatly reduced, through their attachment to the royal cause; and the young student was mainly indebted for his support at college to the kindness of Dr Hammond, whose memory he afterwards celebrated in an epitaph. His steady resolution in refusing to take the covenant gave offence to many in the college; but his modesty and discretion preserved the respect and regard of his superiors. A Latin oration on the gunpowder-plot (which is still extant) so far<sup>1</sup> provoked some of the fellows of Trinity that they demanded his expulsion, on which Dr Hill, the master, gave them a quietus by saying, "Barrow is a better man than any of us." He is said to have been dissatisfied with the physiology then taught in the schools, and to have studied with great care the

<sup>1</sup> There does not appear to be much offensive matter in this discourse. The commendations bestowed upon the character and policy of James I. were probably the most unpalatable parts. Speaking of the religion of that time, he says, "*Nec veteres illa corruptela, nec hesternæ ineptias admittebat.*"

writings of Lord Bacon, <sup>2</sup>Des Cartes, Galileo, and all the profoundest philosophers of the age. In 1649, he commenced B.A.; in 1652, he proceeded M.A., and in the same year was incorporated in the same degree at Oxford. After his election to a fellowship in Trinity college, he was so discouraged at the aspect of the times towards the episcopal clergy, that he turned his attention to the medical profession, and pursued with great vigour the study of anatomy, botany, and chemistry. On further consideration, however, and consultation with his uncle, he abandoned the study of medicine, and resumed the profession of divinity. It is said that the reading of Scaliger upon Eusebius directed his attention to astronomy, as a science essentially necessary in the study of chronology; and that his application to astronomy made him a student of the mathematics in which he afterwards attained such extraordinary eminence. About this time he was an unsuccessful competitor for the professorship of Greek, then vacant by the resignation of Duport. It is said that his Arminianism was the cause of his defeat. In the year 1655 he set out on his travels into foreign countries, having sold his books to defray his expenses. In Paris he found his father an attendant upon the English court; and, as one of the doctor's biographers tell us, "out of his small viaticum, he made his father a seasonable present." After staying some months in France, he visited Italy, and at Florence availed himself of the opportunity of consulting the ducal library. The plague then raging at Rome, he was prevented from visiting the eternal city, so that he took shipping at Leghorn and sailed for Smyrna. The vessel was attacked by an Algerine corsair; on which occasion Barrow came on deck, and fought manfully through the whole action, until their obstinate defence compelled the pirate to abandon the attempt. Of this voyage and combat he has given us a long poetical narrative in hexameter and pentameter verse. At Constantinople, Barrow read through the works of Chrysostom, whose diocese was there prior to the irruption of the Turks. For the writings of this father he always entertained the highest esteem. He returned to England by way of Venice, and through Germany and Holland. Soon after his return he was ordained by Brownrigg, bishop of Exeter,—a prelate whose works, in two volumes folio, attest the vigour of his understanding and the depth of his learning. At the time of the Restoration it was expected by Barrow and his friends that something would have been done for him; but 'our most religious sovereign the king' was too deeply occupied with court-harlequins and prostitutes to remember any thing so insignificant as piety and learning. It was at this time that Barrow wrote his well-known epigram,

"Te magis oplavit reditum, Carole, nemo,  
Et nemo sensit, te rediisse minus."

<sup>2</sup> Though far from adopting the Cartesian physics, he thus speaks of the French philosopher in an essay bearing this title, '*Cartesiana hypothesis haud satisfacit præcipuis Naturæ Phenomenis*.' "*Renatus Cartesius, vir procul dubio optimus atque ingeniosissimus, ac serio philosophus, et qui videtur ad philosophiæ hujus contemplationem ea attulisse auxilia, quæ fortassis nemo unquam alius; intelligo eximiam in mathematicis peritiam; animum natura atque assuefactione meditationis patientissimum; judicium præjudiciis omnibus et popularium errorum laqueis exutum, extricatumque; ne memorem incomparabile ingenii acumen, et facultates quibus præstabat eximii tam clare et distincti cogitandi, quam mentem suam paucis verbis admodum plene ac dilucide explicandi.*"



In 1660 he was elevated to the Greek professorship at Cambridge. He delivered a course of lectures on Aristotle's Rhetoric; "of which," says Hill, "I can only say, that some friend (to himself, I mean,) thought fit to borrow, and never to return those lectures." In 1661 he took the degree of B. D. The following year he was appointed, on the recommendation of Dr Wilkins, to the professorship of geometry in Gresham college; where he not only filled his own chair with distinguished ability, but also lectured on astronomy in the absence of his colleague, Dr Pope. In 1663 he was chosen fellow of the Royal Society in the first election of members after their incorporation. In the same year he was appointed to the then recently instituted Lucasian professorship of mathematics at Cambridge, when he resigned the Greek chair in that university, as well as his situation in Gresham college. After discharging the duties of this office with great ability for nine years, he resigned it to his illustrious pupil, Mr, afterwards Sir Isaac Newton; and, for the remainder of his life, applied himself wholly to divinity. He was created doctor of divinity in 1670. Two years after he was raised to the mastership of Trinity college; on which occasion the king observed, that "he had given it to the best scholar in England." On receiving this appointment he resigned a small living in Wales, previously bestowed upon him by his uncle, the bishop of St Asaph, and a prebend in Salisbury cathedral, to which he had been presented by Ward, bishop of Salisbury. Of these preferments he had always distributed the profits in charity. A few years after he was made vice-chancellor of the university. In the month of April, 1677, he was seized with a fever, which terminated his life on the fourth of May following. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where his friends erected a monument to his memory, exhibiting a Latin epitaph from the pen of Dr Mapletoft. Dr Barrow is described as short in stature, of a pale complexion, but possessed of great muscular strength. His character was a beautiful assemblage of virtues: intrepid firmness, incorruptible integrity, a perfect simplicity of life and manners, a courtesy and cheerfulness which no change of circumstances seems to have impaired, a native modesty unspoiled by all his great abilities and acquirements, and a serious piety arising out of the profoundest conviction of the truth and value of religion. Of his humanity the following characteristic anecdote is preserved. Walking about the premises of a friend in the evening, he was attacked by a fierce mastiff, which was left unchained at night, and had not become acquainted with the Doctor's person. He struggled with the dog and threw him down; but when on the point of strangling him, he reflected that the animal was only doing his duty in seizing a stranger; for which, therefore, he did not deserve to die. As he durst not loose his hold, lest the dog should seize and tear him, he laid himself down on the animal, and there remained till some one came to his assistance. Dr Barrow is said to have been extremely negligent of his personal appearance. Of this a ludicrous story is recorded in the *Biographia Britannica*. The well-known anecdote of his 'wit-combat' with Lord Rochester illustrates his power of repartee. The witty profligate, on meeting Barrow, exclaimed, "Doctor, I am yours to the shoe-tie;" to which the clergyman replied, "My lord, I am yours to the ground." The peer rejoined, "Doctor, I am yours to the centre;" "My lord," retorted the doctor, "I am

yours to the antipodes." Determined not to be outdone, his lordship blasphemously added, "Doctor, I am yours to the lowest pit of hell;" on which Barrow turned on his heel and said, "And *there*, my lord, I leave you." In speaking of the intellectual powers of Barrow, and commenting upon his works, it is difficult to do anything like justice to the subject, without seeming to run into the extravagances of inflated and unmeaning panegyric. Yet he may be safely pronounced one of the most remarkable men of any age or nation. As a mathematician, he is, unquestionably,

"If not first, in the very first line;"

deserving honourable mention even in the age of Newton and Leibnitz, of Pascal and the two Bernoullis. After all the improvements in the exact sciences to which later times have given birth, his mathematical lectures may still be read, even by accomplished geometers, with instruction and delight. In particular they display extraordinary insight into what may be called the metaphysics of mathematical science. The theological writings of Barrow—which were most of them published after his death—consist principally of sermons; containing, however, two longer treatises of great value, on the Pope's supremacy, and the Unity of the Church. His sermons are truly extraordinary performances; and, intellectually considered, are, in our judgment, beyond comparison superior to those of even his greatest contemporaries. We can willingly spare the ever-blazing imagination of Taylor, the wit and elegance of Louth, the rough originality of Hall and Donne, and the nervous rhetoric of Chillingworth, in one who every where displays a gigantic grasp of intellect, an exuberant fecundity of thought and illustration, a closeness of logic, and a sustained majesty of style, for which, in their combination, we know not where else to look. He possessed beyond all men, since the days of Aristotle, the power of *exhausting* a subject. Hence Le Clerc says of his sermons, that they are treatises or exact dissertations, rather than harangues to please the multitude. The discourses on the duty of thanksgiving, on bounty to the poor, on the folly and danger of delaying repentance, on faith, and on the Trinity, may be instanced as among his finest. His description of facetiousness, (in the sermon against foolish talking and jesting,) which Dr Johnson considered the finest thing in the language, is both too long and too well-known to be quoted here. We shall give one or two quotations, however, which may exhibit, not indeed the reach and force of his intellect, for a due idea of which it would be necessary to read through a whole discourse, but the rich exuberance of thought, the beauty of imagery, and felicity of diction, by which he is eminently distinguished.

"Yea, 'tis our duty not to be contented only, but to be delighted, to be transported, to be ravished with the emanations of God's love: to entertain them with such a disposition of mind as the dry and parched ground imbibes the soft dew and gentle showers; as the chill and darksome air admits the benign influences of heavenly light; as the thirsty soul takes in the sweet and cooling stream. He that with a sullen look, a dead heart, a faint sense, a cold hand, embraces the gifts of heaven, is really unthankful, though with deluges of wine and oil he makes the altars to o'erflow, and clouds the sky with the steam of his sacrifices."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> First Sermon on Thanksgiving.

"As to the commands of God, we may 'lift up ourselves against them,' we may fight stoutly, we may in a sort prove conquerors; but it will be a miserable victory, the trophies whereof shall be erected in hell, and stand upon the ruins of our happiness."<sup>4</sup>

"We may consider and meditate upon the total incomprehensibility of God, in all things belonging to him; in his nature, his attributes, his decrees, his works and ways; which are all full of depth, mystery, and wonder. God inhabiteth a light inaccessible to the dim and weak sight of mortal eyes; which 'no man hath seen, or can see.' Even those spiritual eagles, the quick and strong-sighted seraphim, are obliged to cover their faces, as not daring to look upon nor able to sustain the fulgor of his immediate presence, the flashes of glory and majesty issuing from his throne."<sup>5</sup>

"Let us consider the Spirit of God as vouchsafing to attend over us, to converse with us, to dwell in us; rendering our souls holy temples of his divinity, royal thrones of his majesty, bright orbs of his heavenly light, pleasant paradises of his blissful presence,—our souls which naturally are profane receptacles of wicked and impure affections, dark cells of false and fond imaginations, close prisons of black and sad thoughts."<sup>6</sup>

With all the excellencies of which we have spoken, the sermons of this illustrious divine are by no means recommended as models of pulpit eloquence. Their very depth and comprehensiveness of thought, their laboured majesty of style, would place them far beyond the understanding of any congregation that ever was or ever will be assembled in this world. They are also chargeable with a more serious fault; a defective exhibition of the great principles of the gospel. In saying this, we do not allude to his Arminianism; nor do we charge him with denying any one of the essential doctrines of the gospel. But the fault we find is this; that the great evangelical principles which we know him to have held, were not exhibited with sufficient prominence or in due proportion. They are recognised, they are defended by him; nay, they sometimes kindle him into a rapturous eloquence worthy of his theme. But they are not made the life and soul of his theology, the centre of the system, the source of influence, vitality, and attraction. The *Opuscula* of Barrow consist in the main of college-exercises, both verse and prose, in the learned languages; and of lectures delivered in his professorial capacity. They possess a high degree of merit; displaying, indeed, all the excellencies of thought and style by which his English compositions are distinguished. If the *Oratio Sarcasmica in Scholâ Græcâ*, is not to be considered a mere *jeu d'esprit*, we fear that the study of Greek was but lightly esteemed by the young Cantabrigians of that day. "Levasti me," says the doctor, "levasti me (humanissimi quotquot estis academici) gravissimo onere; a maximo periculo liberastis; labori, solitudini, pudori meo abunde pepercistis; jugi scilicet illa et pertinaci absentia, qua has scholas refugistis.—Enimvero ex quo in anni decedentis auspiciis longum mihi vale peroranti dixistis, desedi continuo solus huic cathedræ (nemo vestrum sat scio vel mentienti *αυτοσχευτης* testis fidem derogabit) tanquam rupi suæ Prometheus affixus: vel ut arbiter quidam supremus in illa (quam non nemo nuper excogitavit) republica Solipsorum; non montibus dico

<sup>4</sup> On Submission to the Divine Will.

<sup>5</sup> Sermon on the Trinity.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

aut sylvis, sed parietibus istis atque subselliis sententias Græcas, figuras, phrases, etymologias undique conquisitas admurmurans; plane ut Attica noctua ab omni aliarum avium commercio segregata.—Quod si forti vagabundus quispiam recens, vel naufragus sophista (unus aut alter) temerario cestu abreptus, vel infelicis auræ cujuslibet impulsu deportatus in has aliquando (quod perraro tamen memini accidisse) oras appulerit, vix obiter is inspecta provincia, aut tribus verbis acceptis, tragici quippe nescio quid sonantibus, quasi a barbato Græculo, si perstaret, propædæm devorandus, e meo repente Polyphemi antro in pedes se conjicit.” He pursues the same vein of pleasantry through several pages. Dr Barrow’s theological works first appeared in three vols. folio, in 1685. They were published under the superintendence of Dr Tillotson and Abraham Hill. The *Opuscula* were first published in 1687. His mathematical works appeared in the following order. *Euclidis Elementa*, 8vo. Cantab. 1655. *Euclidis Data*, 8vo. Cantab. 1657. *Lectiones Opticæ*, 4to. Lond. 1669. *Lectiones Geometricæ*, 4to. Lond. 1670. *Archimedis Opera*; *Apollonii Conicorum Libri IV.*; *Theodosii Sphærica*, 4to. Lond. 1675. After his death appeared his *Lectio de Sphæra et Cylindro*, 12mo. Lond. 1678; and his *Lectiones Mathematicæ*, 8vo. Lond. 1783.<sup>7</sup>

### John Tombes, B.D.

BORN A. D. 1603.—DIED A. D. 1676.

THIS pious and learned non-conformist was born at Bewdley in Worcestershire, in 1603. His early proficiency in grammar-learning enabled those who had the charge of his education to send him to Magdalene hall, Oxford, before completing his fifteenth year. His tutor at the university was William Pemble, upon whose decease he was chosen to succeed him in the catechetical lecture given in the hall, though but twenty-one years of age at the time. He held this lectureship about seven years, and then removed, first to Worcester, and afterwards to Leominster, in both which places he was very popular as a preacher. He ultimately was presented with the living of Leominster; but, in 1641, he was compelled to relinquish his charge in that place, and retire to Bristol, in consequence of the virulence of the high church party, who disliked the zeal and tolerant spirit of their brother of Leominster, and felt particularly aggrieved by the disposition which he evinced to purge the service of the church from human inventions.

At Bristol he was warmly received by General Fiennes, then in command there, who gave him the living of All Saints; but on that city falling into the hands of the royalists, a special warrant was issued for his apprehension, and he made his escape with difficulty to London. Here he was some time minister of Fenchurch; but beginning to entertain scruples respecting infant baptism, he was ultimately obliged to resign his charge. So early as the year 1627, he had been led in the

<sup>7</sup> Hill’s *Life of Barrow*.—Pope’s *Life of Ward*, Bishop of Salisbury.—Ward’s *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*.—*Biog. Brit.*

course of his lectures to discuss the subject of baptism, and had conceived doubts concerning the scriptural authority for that of infants. A committee of his London brethren now waited upon him to discuss the grounds of his hesitancy, but they failed to remove his scruples. He then drew up, in Latin, a statement of his views on the subject, which he sent to the chairman of the Westminster assembly; but this document does not appear to have been treated with the attention it merited. He printed an apologetical statement of his views on the subject of baptism in 1646, after which he undertook the charge of a church at Bewdley. Here he held several public disputations on the subject of infant baptism with Baxter and others, and formed a separate church of persons holding his own sentiments, though he retained, at the same time, the parochial charge of Bewdley.

On the restoration, he appears to have readily fallen in with the new order of things, and wrote in support of the oath of supremacy, but he soon found the 'yoke of bondage' which the new government imposed upon all its clerical adherents, too heavy to be endured; and despairing of further usefulness in his clerical character, he laid down the ministry and retired into private life. He died at Salisbury in 1676. Mr Baxter bears honourable testimony to his worth, talents, and learning. He wrote and published a number of theological tracts, mostly on the subject of baptism.

### Archbishop Sheldon.

BORN A.D. 1598.—DIED A.D. 1677.

GILBERT SHELDON, archbishop of Canterbury, was the youngest son of Roger Sheldon, a servant in the earl of Shrewsbury's household. He was born at Stanton in Staffordshire in 1598. In 1613, he was admitted a commoner of Trinity college, Oxford. In 1622, he was elected fellow of All Saints college, and about the same time entered into holy orders. He afterwards became domestic chaplain to the lord-keeper Coventry, who gave him a prebend in Gloucester cathedral.

The lord-keeper appears to have entertained considerable respect for Sheldon. He employed him in many affairs of importance, so that the young chaplain was soon marked out as a rising man. Laud presented him with the rectory of Newington, with which he held that of Ickford, in Bucks. In 1632, the king presented him to the vicarage of Hackney, in Middlesex; and in 1635 he was elected warden of All Souls college. Chillingworth had, about this time, begun to give offence to his dignified brethren by the sentiments which he held on the subject of toleration, and his views on some points of theology. The opportunity was a favourable one for Sheldon to display his orthodoxy, and, accordingly, he addressed several letters of remonstrance to his friend, which advanced him not a little in the esteem of those whom it was his interest to conciliate. The king now appointed him clerk of the closet, and one of his chaplains in ordinary. It was also contemplated to confer on him the office of master of the Savoy, but the political events of the day hindered the latter arrangement.

During the civil war, Sheldon adhered steadily to the royal cause,

and was sent by Charles to attend his commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge, where he argued very earnestly in favour of the church. In 1647-8, he was ejected from his wardenship by the parliamentary visitors, and placed under restraint at Oxford, in company with Dr Hammond and some others. Upon his release, he retired to Snelston, in Derbyshire, from whence he frequently remitted sums of money to the exiled prince.

On the restoration, Sheldon was made dean of the chapel royal; and upon Bishop Juxon's translation to the see of Canterbury, the bishopric of London was bestowed upon him. He held the mastership of the Savoy in conjunction with his bishopric; and the famous conference between the episcopal and presbyterian clergy, concerning alterations to be made in the liturgy, was held at his house in the Savoy. On the death of Juxon, he was elevated to the archiepiscopal see in 1663. He died at Lambeth in 1677.

Sheldon was a prelate more distinguished for learning and munificence than for piety. He mingled too much in the politics of the day to preserve his moral integrity unimpeached; though Neale goes too far when he affirms that he was a mere "tool of the prerogative," and one "who made a jest of religion any further than it was a political engine of state."

## Archbishop Bramhall.

BORN A. D. 1593.—DIED A. D. 1663.

THIS prelate was of the family of the Bramhalls of Cheshire. He was born at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, about the year 1593. He received his school-education at the place of his birth, and was removed from thence to Sidney college, Cambridge, in 1608. After taking his university degrees, he had a living given him in the city of York. A public disputation which he held in 1623, with a secular priest and a Jesuit, at North Allerton, introduced him to the favourable regards of Matthews, archbishop of York, who made him his chaplain, and presented him with a prebend of York. He afterwards received a prebend of Rippon, and removed to that place, where he discharged the duties of sub-dean. In the year 1633, he obtained the archdeaconry of Meath, in Ireland. Next year, he was promoted to the bishopric of Londonderry, and made himself very instrumental in persuading the Irish episcopal church to adopt the thirty-nine articles of the English church. The active part which he took in supporting the royal cause, and the keenness with which he applied himself to the recovery of church lands, and the enlargement of the revenues of his church, soon brought our prelate into bad odour with the people. At last, he found it necessary to quit Londonderry and retire to the continent.

He went first to Hamburg, and thence to Brussels. In 1648, he ventured to return to Ireland, but found the country too hot for him, and narrowly escaped with his life. On the restoration, his services were rewarded with the archbishopric of Armagh. He died in 1663. His works were published in one volume, folio, in 1677. The

most curious and valuable of his writings, is one entitled, 'The Catching of the Leviathan,' in which he argues with great force and acuteness against Hobbes' notions on liberty and necessity.

### Thomas Manton, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1620.—DIED A. D. 1677.

THIS learned and eminent nonconformist was born at Laurence-Lydiard, in Somersetshire, in 1620. His father and grandfather were both clergymen. He received his early education at Tiverton. In 1635, he was entered of Wadham college, Oxford, whence he removed, in 1639, to Harthall, where he took his degree of bachelor-in-arts. Wood says he was accounted in his college "a hot-headed person;" if this be true, we can only say that he must have soon attained the faculty of self-command, for he bore a very different character throughout life, and when all eyes were upon him. After studying divinity, he was admitted into deacon's orders by Hall, bishop of Exeter, who predicted of the young divine that "he would prove an extraordinary person."

His ministerial functions were exercised in various places; but his first settlement was at Stoke-Newington, near London, where he continued seven years, and became much admired for his pulpit talents, and particularly his faculty of exposition. It was whilst he held the living of Stoke-Newington that he preached those lectures on the epistles of James and Jude, which are, even to this day, so highly esteemed. He was also occasionally called to preach before parliament.

Upon the death or resignation of Obadiah Sedgwick, Manton was presented to the living of Covent Garden by the earl of Bedford. Here he had a numerous auditory. In 1653, he was appointed one of the protector's chaplains; about the same time he was nominated by parliament one of a committee of divines to draw up a scheme of fundamental doctrines, and also one of the triers, as they were called, whose office it was to examine and pronounce upon the qualifications of ministers.

Manton took an active part in promoting the restoration, and was one of the commissioners sent over to Breda. He was afterwards offered the deanery of Rochester, but declined the preferment. He was one of the ministers who were silenced on St Bartholomew's day, 1662. From this period his history, like that of his nonconforming brethren, is one of suffering and persecution. He was imprisoned for preaching, although patronised and esteemed by the duke of Bedford, and many of the first nobles of the land. His constitution, impaired by intense study, early gave way. He died in the 57th year of his age, on the 18th of October, 1677. His works were published in five volumes folio. They are very highly esteemed.

## Theophilus Gale, M. A.

BORN A. D. 1628.—DIED A. D. 1678.

THEOPHILUS GALE was born in 1628, at King's Teignton, Devonshire, of which place his father, Dr Theophilus Gale, was vicar. Dr Gale was also prebendary of Exeter. The subject of the present article was entered student of Magdalen college, Oxford, in 1647. In 1650 he was chosen fellow in preference to several of his seniors, and in 1652 he proceeded M. A. Here he was engaged as a tutor and a preacher, in both which capacities he became eminently successful. Bishop Hopkins, who was one of his pupils at the university, is said to have paid him always the greatest respect, notwithstanding his nonconformity. During his residence in the university, he formed the plan, and commenced the execution of his great work, entitled, 'The Court of the Gentiles,' the leading object of which is to show that the theology, philology, and philosophy of the pagan nations were originally derived from the pages of inspiration. It is admitted by all competent judges to be a splendid monument of the learning and talents of the writer, and one of the most masterly productions which any age or any country has produced. In 1657, Mr Gale was made preacher at Winchester cathedral. He had then embraced the principles of the independents.

Upon the passing of the act of uniformity, Mr Gale suffered ejection both from the cathedral of Winchester and from the fellowship of his college. This harsh measure threw him upon the necessity of again resorting to the labours of tuition. Lord Wharton received him into his family, and placed his two sons under his care. Soon after, he removed with his pupils to Caen, in Normandy, where he continued to reside for about two years. During his residence at Caen he formed the acquaintance, and enjoyed the friendship of the celebrated Bochart, who was then a pastor and professor in that town. In 1665, he returned to England, and after residing a few months with his pupils at their father's seat in Buckinghamshire, gave up the charge of their tuition. He then directed his course towards London, but as he approached it he beheld the city in flames. When he had left his native country for France, he had deposited the manuscripts of his great work, with many other papers, in the hands of a friend in the city. Upon his return to London, the first intelligence he received was, that the house of this friend had been consumed; and, of course, his fears instantly presumed that all his papers, the results of so many years' hard study, had been destroyed. It appeared that his friend had removed most of his own goods, but had forgotten the valuable deposit which Mr Gale had committed to his custody. The cart containing what he deemed most valuable was about to remove from the door, while the desk containing Gales' manuscripts was left behind. But, fortunately for the world, and for Theophilus Gale, this friend thought he would make up the loss by adding this very desk, which was lying in his counting-house, without at the time reflecting, that it was the most valuable package of the whole. Thus, by a mere incidental and momentary thought, was preserved from destruction one of the most valuable and important



treasures of learning. The first part of this great work was given to the public in 1669; the second part two years after; the third and fourth in 1677, and the addition to the 4th part in 1678. Such was the esteem which this work speedily acquired, that it was translated into Latin, and became extensively known on the continent, and was especially admired in Germany. During the progress of Mr Gale's great work, he published in 1676 another scarcely less learned, the object of which was to show in a compendious view, what was the nature of the ancient philosophy. Its title was '*Philosophia Generalis in duas partes determinata; una, de ortu et progressu Philosophiæ: 2, de habitibus intellectualibus: 3, de Philosophiæ objecto.*' Being written in Latin, this work excited less attention in England than on the continent, where it was received with eagerness, and read with much commendation. The design of the work was in a great measure identified with that of the Court of the Gentiles. It is however written with more conciseness, and is more especially intended for persons engaged in a regular course of philosophical inquiry.

While Mr Gale was engaged in the completion of these important works, although interdicted from the public exercise of his ministry, he yet engaged as an assistant to Mr John Rowe, who officiated as the pastor of a private congregation of nonconformists assembling in Holborn. After he had completed his Court of the Gentiles, he applied, as a member of the university of Oxford, to Dr Fell, the vice-chancellor, for his license to its publication, which was readily granted. The first part then appeared, and being favourably received, the others, in due course, made their appearance.

His connexion in the ministry which Mr Gale had formed with Mr Rowe, continued till the death of the latter, which took place in 1677. Previously, however, to this period, he had commenced, and successfully conducted an academy at Newington. In this retreat he was both enabled to prosecute his studies, and render himself useful by instilling the best principles into the minds of youth. Here, too, he was often visited by persons of distinction, and men of eminent learning. A short time before his death he published proposals for printing by subscription a Greek Lexicon to the New Testament, but was cut off early in the same year, before this work was brought to perfection. He died in his 50th year, about March, 1678, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

The character of Mr Gale commanded universal reverence and esteem. Wood speaks of him as "a man of great reading; well conversant with the writings of the fathers and old philosophers, and a good metaphysician and school divine." But Mr Gale's reputation rested not upon his mere learning. He was a man of distinguished talents, of cheerful piety, of unblemished character, and of attractive manners. His attachment to nonconformity was ardent and conscientious; yet his charity towards those who differed from him was large and catholic. Of his devotedness to those views of truth which he had embraced, he gave proof in bequeathing his estate real and personal, in trust, for the education of students in his own principles. His library, which is said to have been well chosen, he left to the promotion of useful learning in New England; and there, we believe, it is preserved to this day.

After the death of Mr John Rowe, Mr Gale succeeded to the care

of his church, and was assisted in his pastoral duties by Mr Samuel Lee. But the connexion subsisted only a few months, for Mr Gale was removed by death, and in the following year Mr Lee removed to Bignal, in Oxfordshire. Gale had acquired the reputation of an able minister of the gospel while a fellow of Magdalen college, and this character he maintained to the last. In the department of learning which he principally pursued, he lived and died almost without a rival. To the present day his great work commands the attention of the learned, and presents a rich treasury of information upon one of the most interesting inquiries that can engage the students of the higher philosophy. The eminent qualities, however, which adorned Mr Gale's Christian character, were his highest glory, and these to the present day continue to throw an imperishable lustre around his name. He may be considered as one of the brightest ornaments of independency, as well as one of the most illustrious of Christian scholars. His works are—1. *The Court of the Gentiles*. 2. *The True Idea of Jansenism*, both historic and dogmatic, 1669, 8vo. Dr Owen wrote a long preface to this book. 3. *Theophilic, or a discourse of the saints' amity with God in Christ*, 1671, 8vo. 4. *The Life of Mr Trigosse*, late minister of the gospel at Milar and Mabe, Cornwall, with his character, 1671, 8vo. 5. *The Anatomy of Infidelity; or an Explication of the nature, causes, aggravations, and punishment of unbelief*, 1672, 8vo. 6. *A discourse of Christ's coming, and the influence of the expectation thereof*, 1673, 8vo. 7. *Idea Theologiæ, tam contemplativæ, tam activæ, ad formam S. Scripturæ delineata*, 1673, 12mo. 8. *Wherein the love of the world is inconsistent with the love of God*, a sermon on 1 John, ii. 15, in the supplement to the morning exercises at Cripplegate, 1674. 9. *A Summary of the two Covenants prefixed to Mr Strong's discourse on the two Covenants*, 1678.

### Matthew Poole, M.A.

BORN A. D. 1624.—DIED A. D. 1679.

MATTHEW POOLE, born in the year 1624, was the son of Francis Poole, Esq. of the city of York. He received an excellent grammar-education, most probably in his native city, and at the usual age was entered at Emanuel college, Cambridge, under the tuition of Dr John Worthington. During his college residence, he was distinguished by laborious study, by his grave demeanour, and scriptural knowledge. He does not appear to have proceeded M.A. till some years after he entered upon the ministry. He most probably embraced the principles of non-conformity before he left the university, but without becoming a violent party man. He was yet in his youth when the national contentions and troubles commenced. But though he was decidedly opposed to episcopacy as then established, and of course embraced the side of the parliament, yet he continued at college diligently and zealously pursuing the most important and useful studies. In the year 1648, however, and at the age of 24, he entered upon the regular duties of the ministry as the successor to Dr Tuckney—who was made vice-chancellor to the university of Cambridge—in the rec-

tory of St Michael le Querne, in London. In the year 1654 he first appeared as author in a defence of the orthodox doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, against the famous John Biddle. The work was entitled, 'The Blasphemer slain by the sword of the Spirit,' &c. In the year 1657 Cromwell resigned the chancellorship of Cambridge in favour of his son Richard, and in that act Mr Poole was incorporated M.A. of that university. The next year he formed and promoted the useful design of maintaining some divinity students of distinguished talents and piety, during their studies at both universities. This plan met with the approbation of the heads of houses, and in a short time the sum of £900 was contributed towards the object. Dr Sherlock, dean of St Pauls, was educated on this foundation. But the design was quashed by the restoration. In 1659, he addressed a printed letter to Lord Charles Fleetwood, relating to the critical juncture of affairs at that time. The same year he also published a work, entitled, 'Quo Warranto,' a work designed to support the authority of an ordained ministry, against a work, entitled, 'The Preacher sent.' This work was written by the appointment of the provincial assembly at London. He continued in his rectory till the passing of the Bartholomew act, when he resigned his living, rather than conform against his conscience. During the fourteen years in which he was a parochial minister, he is described as having been a most faithful, diligent, and affectionate preacher: laborious in his studies to the highest degree, which his stupendous work, entitled, 'Synopsis Criticorum,' in 5 vols. folio, amply testifies. This undertaking occupied his attention for ten years, and is a monument, not only of his extensive reading, but of his critical acumen, and sobriety of judgment. Mr Anthony Wood—always jealous of praising divines of Mr Poole's class—owns that it is an admirable and useful work, and adds, that "the author left behind him the character of a celebrated critic and casuist." His industry in compiling his great work is well worthy of record. He rose at three or four o'clock, took a raw egg at intervals, and kept on labouring all day till towards evening, when he usually sought for a short time the relaxation and enjoyment of society at some friend's house. He is represented by his biographer as being of an exceedingly merry disposition, though always within the limits of reason and innocence. His conversation is said to have been diverting and facetious in a very high degree. How great then must have been the restraints he exercised in so severe and continued a seclusion from society, and so close an application of mind to the very driest and dullest of studies—*criticism*! Mr Poole, however, appears to have enjoyed the happy art of both exciting and of regulating innocent mirth. He seems to have entertained a strict sense of what was decorous, and of what was useful in facetious and entertaining, or even in mirthful discourse; but when he found that the strain was likely to be too long continued, or surpass the due limit, he would say, 'Now let us call for a reckoning,' and then would begin some very serious conversation, and endeavour thereby to leave upon his company some useful and valuable impression. It is highly probable, that the habit of passing his evenings with his friends, and in so cheerful a manner, greatly contributed to relieve both body and mind from the ill effects of those severe and protracted studies in which he engaged. It happened more fortunately for Mr

Poole than for most of his ejected brethren, that he had a provision of about £100 per annum, independent of his rectory, so that he was enabled to live in comfort and pursue his studies, without much inconvenience, after he became a non-conformist. He appears, however, to have once been, or to have thought himself, in danger of being murdered on account of his zeal against popery. In the year 1679, his name appeared in the list of persons who were to have been cut off, printed in the depositions of Titus Oates. Soon after, he was spending an evening at Mr Alderman Ashurst's, and was returning home with a Mr Chorley, who had gone with him for the sake of company; when coming near the narrow passage which leads from Clerkenwell to St John's court, they saw two men standing at the entrance; one of whom, as Mr Poole approached, said to the other, "there he is;" upon which the other replied, "let him alone, there is somebody with him." As soon as they were passed, Mr Poole asked his friend if he had heard what had passed between the two men; and, upon his answering that he had, "Well," replied Mr Poole, "I had been murdered to-night had you not been with me." It is said, that prior to this incident, he had given not the slightest credit to what was said in Oates' depositions; but he appears to have been greatly alarmed by this occurrence, for he soon after made up his mind to quit England, and accordingly removed to Holland, and fixed his residence at Amsterdam. He died the same year (1679), in the month of October, aged fifty-six. It was generally supposed he was poisoned, but the matter remained doubtful, and no discovery was ever made. His body was interred in the vault belonging to the English merchants in that city.

Mr Poole is chiefly known to posterity by his two works on the Bible. The one in Latin, his 'Synopsis,' the other, 'English Annotations.' He was greatly encouraged in his Synopsis by the promised assistance of the great Dr Lightfoot, and the patronage both of Bishop Lloyd and Archbishop Tillotson. It first appeared in 1669, and following years. His 'English Annotations' was in progress when he died, and of course was left in manuscript. He had completed it down to the 58th of Isaiah. The remainder was supplied by several other persons, viz. Mr Jackson, Dr Collins, Mr Hurst, Mr Cooper, Mr Vinke, Mr Mayo, Mr Veal, Mr Adams, Mr Barker, Mr Ob. Hughes, and Mr Howe. The whole appeared in 2 vols. fol. 1685. Both these works are of great value, and are in general request and high estimation among divines to the present day.

Mr Poole's other works are the following: 1. The Blasphemer slain with the sword of the Spirit; 2. A model for maintaining students in the university; 3. A Letter to Lord C. Fleetwood; 4. *Quo Warranto*, &c.; 5. Evangelical worship; 6. *Vox clamantis in deserto*, respecting the ejection of the ministers; 7. The Nullity of the Romish faith; 8. A seasonable apology for religion; 9. Four Sermons in the morning exercises, for 1660; 10. A Poem and two Epitaphs, on Mr Jer. Whitaker; 11. Two on the death of Mr R. Vines; 12. Another on Mr Jacob Stock; 13. A Preface to Sermons of Mr Nalton, with some account of his character; 14. Dialogues between a popish priest and an English protestant, &c.

Mr Poole bore throughout life the reputation of an amiable man, a devout and charitable Christian. When his non-conformity exposed

him to deprivation, and enforced upon him silence, he resigned himself patiently to his trial, and most usefully for the church of Christ, employed his leisure in completing those important works, which will perpetuate his name among those of the ablest biblical critics.

### **Thomas Goodwin, D. D.**

BORN A. D. 1600.—DIED A. D. 1679.

THOMAS GOODWIN was born at Rolesby in Norfolk, in 1600. At the age of thirteen he was sent to Cambridge, where he applied himself with great diligence to his studies, and, in 1619, became a fellow of Catherine-hall. Having taken orders, he was chosen, in 1628, to the lectureship at Trinity church; in 1632, he was presented by the king to the vicarage of the same church; but becoming dissatisfied with the terms of conformity, he relinquished his university preferments, in 1634, and retired to Arnheim, in Holland, where he undertook the pastoral charge of a small independent church.

On the breaking out of the civil war, he returned to England, where he was gladly received and patronized by the parliamentary party. Cromwell, in particular, was so highly pleased with his ministrations that he got him appointed president of Magdalen college, Oxford. Here he formed a church on congregational principles, of which Owen, Gale, and Charnock were members. He acquitted himself in the presidentship with great ability and unimpeachable fairness. On the Restoration he removed to London, whither many of his church followed him, and where he continued in the faithful discharge of his ministry till his death in February, 1679. He was author of numerous pieces of controversial and practical divinity, which were collected and published after his death, in five volumes, folio.

### **Stephen Charnock, B. D.**

BORN A. D. 1628.—DIED A. D. 1680.

STEPHEN CHARNOCK, the author of the celebrated discourses on the Existence and Attributes of God, was born in 1628. He studied successively at Cambridge and Oxford, and was senior proctor of the latter university in 1652. He accompanied Henry Cromwell to Ireland, in the quality of family chaplain. After the restoration he appears to have lived chiefly in London, occasionally visiting France and Holland. He died in 1680. His works were published after his death in two volumes, folio. Toplady says of his Discourses on the Attributes: "perspicuity and depth, metaphysical sublimity and evangelical simplicity, immense learning and plain but irrefragable reasoning, conspire to render that performance one of the most inestimable productions that ever did honour to the sanctified judgment and genius of a human being."

## Richard Allein, M. A.

BORN A. D. 1611.—DIED A. D. 1681.

RICHARD ALLEIN, a nonconformist minister, was the son of Mr Richard Allein, for fifty years minister of Dichiatt, in Somersetshire. He was born in 1611, and at the age of sixteen entered as a commoner at St Alban's-hall, Oxford. On taking the degree of B. A., he removed to New Inn, and continued there till he took the degree of master. On taking orders he went to assist his father. In 1641, he became rector of Batcombe, Somersetshire. He and his father were constituted assistants to the parliamentary commissioners for ejecting scandalous and insufficient ministers. He continued minister of Batcombe till the passing of the act of uniformity, and is represented as a pious, diligent, and zealous instructor of his people. After his ejection from his rectory, he preached privately in various places, and was befriended by a Mr More (an M.P.) Such was his great reputation, and the meekness of his deportment, that, though often summoned to appear before the magistrates, and severely reprimanded for preaching, yet they deemed it more prudent to connive at him than commit him to prison. After the passing of what is called the 'five mile act,' he removed to Froom Selwood, and preached privately there till the day of his death, which took place Dec. 22d, 1681, in the 70th year of his age. He was so much respected, that the vicar of the parish in which he had lived preached a funeral sermon for him. A singular anecdote is told of one of his writings. The work was entitled, '*Vindiciæ Pietatis*,' but a license could not be obtained for its publication. The book was, however, printed and sold privately. The sale going on to a very considerable extent, the king's bookseller caused a seizure to be made of all the remaining copies. These were condemned and sent to the king's kitchen. The royal bookseller thinking it a promising, if not a fair way to turn a penny, contrived to redeem them for a trifle from the ignoble destruction into which he had been the instrument of bringing them. They were then bound up and sold in his own shop. The infamous transaction was however brought to light, and the bookseller compelled to beg pardon, upon his knees, at the council-table. The books were then remanded back to the kitchen, where they were ordered to be *bisked* or rubbed over with an inky brush.

Mr Allein was the author of several other works of a religious nature, which have been highly esteemed and frequently republished.

## John Owen, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1616.—DIED A. D. 1683.

JOHN OWEN, the second son of the Rev. Henry Owen, was born at Stadham, in Oxfordshire, in the year 1616. His father was for some time minister of Stadham, and afterwards rector of Harpsden, in the same county. He was a nonconformer, and accounted by his neigh-

bours a strict puritan. John received the elements of classical learning from Edward Sylvester, master of a private academy at Oxford, who had the honour of also numbering among his pupils Wilkins, afterwards bishop of Chester, Wilkinson, afterwards Margaret professor, and William Chillingworth. At twelve years of age, he was admitted a student of Queen's college; and on the 11th of June, 1632, when only sixteen, took the degree of A.B. On the 27th of April, 1635, he commenced master of arts. During this period, he pursued his studies with incredible diligence, never allowing himself above four hours of repose. His ambition was, even at this early period of life, to raise himself to the highest attainable honours, whether in church or state; but, as he subsequently confessed, he was indifferent to the ecclesiastical profession, excepting only as it might be viewed as a means for attaining the object of his ambition.

The same year, 1637, that produced the celebrated resistance of Hampden to illegal taxation, drove Owen from Oxford, in consequence of the ecclesiastical tyranny of Laud. In virtue of his office as chancellor of Oxford, that churchman had caused a new body of statutes to be drawn up for the university, in which, obedience to some superstitious rites was imposed on pain of expulsion. The mind of Owen was sufficiently enlightened at this time to see and embrace the worthier alternative. It cost him a severe struggle to tear himself from his 'alma mater,' but the sacrifice was made. Owen's conduct on this occasion has drawn down upon him, from Anthony Wood, the ridiculous charge of perjury; because, forsooth, he had already taken the oath of allegiance when graduating!

On leaving Oxford, having previously received orders from Bishop Bancroft, Owen resided for some time in the family of Sir Robert Dormer of Ascot, as domestic chaplain, and tutor to his eldest son. He afterwards became chaplain to Lord Lovelace of Hurbury, in Berkshire, with whom he continued till the commencement of hostilities between the king and the parliament, when Lord Lovelace joined the former, while Owen as warmly embraced the cause of the latter. This step lost him the favour of his uncle, a gentleman of considerable landed property in Wales, who had intended to make him his heir. Forsaken both by his patron and his family, Owen came up to London, and took lodgings in Charterhouse-yard, where he employed himself in composing his 'Display of Arminianism,' which appeared in 1642, and was very favourably received. It appears that Owen, when he came first to the city, suffered much from religious dejection and perplexity. His unhappiness may have arisen, as Mr Orme suggests, from some misconception of the subjects which the Arminian controversy embraces; and it is very probable that that led him to the train of investigation contained in the 'Display.' It was reserved, however, for an unknown preacher to remove his dejection by a sermon from these words: "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?" The sermon was a very plain one; but the effect was mighty through the blessing of God.

The 'Display of Arminianism' recommended its author to the attention of parliament, and he was soon after presented by the committee "for purging the church of scandalous ministers" with the living of Fordham, in Essex. This presentation remained in force only during

the life of the sequestered incumbent : at his death, the living reverted to the patron, and Owen was superseded, but he was immediately presented by 'the good earl of Warwick' with the neighbouring living of Coggeshall, at the request of the congregation. It is uncertain when he made his first efforts in the ministry, but immediately on being appointed to Fordham, he entered on the diligent discharge of his parochial duties, and published two short catechisms for the better instruction of his parishioners. At this time he seems to have leaned towards presbyterianism ; but upon paying closer attention to the points in dispute betwixt the independents and presbyterians, he embraced independency. On the 29th of April, 1646, being the day appointed for the monthly fast, he was appointed to preach before the parliament. His sermon on this occasion was published, and he appended to it what he calls a 'Country Essay for the practice of church government,' in which he exposes the iniquity and folly of contention among Christians about points of minor importance, and contends for a large and liberal toleration. Speaking of the iniquity of putting men to death for heresy, he declares, that "he had almost said it would be for the interest of morality to consent generally to the persecution of a man maintaining such a destructive opinion." The same sentiments he inculcated in two different public sermons which he was soon afterwards called upon to preach. It ought not to be forgotten that Dr Owen's advocacy of religious liberty was not that of a dissenter, but that of a man in close connexion with the prevailing persuasion, and the ruling powers of the day.

On the 31st of January, 1649, the day after the execution of the king, Owen was called to preach before parliament. It was a trying occasion, and Anthony Wood and Grey have laboured hard to prove that the preacher applauded the regicides, but without success. The truth is, that on the subject of the preceding day's transactions, Owen observed a profound and evidently studied silence, and the text which he made choice of for the occasion (Jeremiah xv. 19, 20.) partakes more of solemn admonition than of congratulation. He tells the parliament very faithfully that much of the evil which had come upon the country had originated within their own walls, and warns them against 'oppression, self-seeking, and contrivances for persecution.' On the 19th of April following, he again preached before the parliament and chief officers of the army. Cromwell heard him for the first time on this occasion, and was so much pleased with him that he insisted on his accompanying him to Ireland, in the quality of his chaplain. With this invitation Owen was at first not a little unwilling to comply, but the lieutenant-general would take no refusal, and his brethren in the ministry advised him to go.

On arriving at Dublin, Owen took up his residence at Trinity college, the affairs of which he superintended for above half a year. On his return to England, he seized the first opportunity to call the attention of his countrymen to the spiritual wants of Ireland, and it was in consequence of his representations that six eminent preachers were sent over by parliament to that country, with general instructions to exert themselves for the promotion of religion and education among the Irish. In the summer of 1650, he accompanied Cromwell's expedition to Scotland, and remained with the army till early in the following year.



On the 18th of March, 1651, he was raised to the deanery of Christ church; Goodwin being raised at the same time to the presidency of Magdalene college. His appointment gave very general satisfaction to the students. In about a year and a half after, he was made vice-chancellor of the university, on the nomination of Cromwell now chancellor. The office in these times was a difficult and invidious one; but Owen's administration reconciled many difficulties, and extorted the approbation even of the episcopalian party. Granger admits, that "supposing it to be necessary for one of his persuasion to be placed at the head of the university, none was so proper as this person (Owen;) who governed it several years with much prudence and moderation, when faction and animosity seemed to be a part of every religion;" and Lord Clarendon's testimony is still more decisive. He says, that the university "yielded a harvest of extraordinary, good, and sound knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who were wickedly introduced, applied themselves to the study of learning, and to the practice of virtue. So that when it pleased God to bring King Charles II. back to his throne, he found that university abounding in excellent learning, and little inferior to what it was before its desolation." Mr Orme has collected the following particulars descriptive of the vice-chancellor's personal conduct. "The doctor managed the different parties in the university by his gentlemanly behaviour and condescension, by his impartiality and decision, and by his generous disinterestedness. He was moderate, but firm; dignified, and at the same time full of gentleness. He gained the good wishes of the episcopalians, by allowing a society of about three hundred of them, who used the liturgy, to meet every Lord's day over against his own door without disturbance, although they were not legally tolerated. He secured the support and favour of the presbyterians, by giving away most of the vacant benefices in his gift to persons of that denomination; and with the presbyterians of the university he had the most intimate intercourse. Among the students he acted as a father. While he discountenanced and punished the vicious, he encouraged and rewarded the modest and the indigent. He was hospitable in his own house, generous to poor scholars, some of whom he took into his family, and others he assisted by presents of money. Foreigners as well as natives experienced his bounty; for some of them by his favour, and that of the canons of Christ church, were admitted to free commons and the use of the library."

In 1654, Dr Owen was returned as representative for the university of Oxford, but his eligibility being questioned by the committee of privileges, on the ground of his being in the ministry, he sat only for a short time. The attempt has repeatedly been made, but without success, to show that Owen, during his vice-chancellorship, engaged much in political intrigue. The truth is, that in every instance in which he was not necessitated by the duties of his high official situation to act otherwise, he stood carefully aloof from all parties in the state. His subsequent conduct upon his dismissal from Oxford, when Richard Cromwell was chosen chancellor in room of the protector, who had resigned, was equally guarded. Vernon and other party-libellers of the day, attempted to represent him as being mainly instrumental in compelling Richard Cromwell to dissolve his parliament. But he met the

charge with a bold and unqualified denial. "Let me inform you," says he in his 'Vindication of Animadversions on Fiat Lux'—"that the author of the Animadversions is a person who never had a hand in, nor gave consent to the raising of any war in these nations; nor to any political alterations in them; no—not to any one that was amongst us during our revolutions. But he acknowledges that he lived and acted under them the things in which he thought his duty consisted; and challenges all men to charge him with doing the least personal injury to any, professing himself ready to give satisfaction to any one that can justly claim it." Owen preached before parliament for the last time, on the 8th of May, 1659. Soon after he was employed by the congregational churches in London, to draw up a letter of remonstrance to Monk, who was now in Scotland, and who seemed to be preparing to support the presbyterian party in England. The result of the negotiation which ensued with that hypocritical and selfish man have been already detailed. Owen's connexion with Oxford was soon after this completely dissolved by his dismissal from the deanery of Christ church, to make room for the presbyterians' man, Dr Reynolds.

He now retired to Stadham, his native place, where he had purchased an estate, and where he undertook the charge of a small congregation; but the Oxford militia broke it up, and Owen himself was compelled to seek safety in concealment and flight. He then took up his residence in London, where Baxter represents him as "keeping off, as if he had been more ashamed or afraid of suffering than his brethren." But it is not true that he "kept off" in this sense; on the contrary, he was never wanting, when the occasion called for it, to vindicate the conduct and principles of his brother-sufferers for conscience sake, and, when Baxter himself shrunk from the task of replying to Parker's 'Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie,' alleging in excuse that he considered himself "as excepted from the reproaches which had been thrown out, and that if he were to answer Parker, they would soon make him as odious as the rest." Owen undertook the duty from which Baxter "kept off," and drew down upon himself the treatment which Baxter had rightly anticipated for the apologist of dissent. We also find him during the plague, and after the great fire in London, when the clergy forsook the churches, opening places for public worship throughout the city in conjunction with Thomas Goodwin, Nye, Griffiths, Brooks, Caryl, Vincent, and others, both presbyterians and independents. Owen afterwards formed a congregation in London, and instituted the Pinners' hall weekly lecture, in conjunction with Manton, Bates, Baxter, Jenkins, and Collins. On the death of Caryl, in 1673, his church united with that under Owen. In 1674, Dr Owen was honoured with a conference with the duke of York, and subsequently his majesty sent for him, and after strong professions of his regard for liberty of conscience, gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most by the late severities. Stillingfleet insinuates, that the duke's object in wishing to conciliate the dissenters at this period, was the promotion of his own interests as to the succession; but Owen declares, "that never any one person in authority, nor any one that had any relation to public affairs, did ever speak one word to him about any indulgence or toleration to be granted unto papists."

Owen married his first wife soon after his presentation to Fordham. By her he had eleven children, all of whom, except one daughter, died young. In 1677 he married again, and received such a fortune with his second lady as enabled him to keep his carriage and country-house at Ealing, in Middlesex, where he mostly lived during the latter years of his life, which were chiefly devoted to writing. His last production was, 'Meditations and Discourses on the glory of Christ,' which was put to press on the day he died. Anthony Wood malignantly asserts, "that he did very unwillingly lay down his head and die." Were it at all necessary, we could here insert abundant evidence to the contrary of this, but no one who is acquainted with Owen's writings, or has studied the character of the man, will require such proof from us. His death took place on the 24th of August, 1683.

A noble monument to Owen's memory might be reared from the testimonies of his rivals and enemies. Baxter speaks of his "complying mildness, and sweetness, and peaceableness." Wood declares that he could, "by the persuasion of his oratory, in conjunction with some other outward advantages, move and wind the affections of his admiring auditory almost as he pleased;" and that "he was one of the fairest and most genteel writers who have appeared against the church of England, as handling his adversaries with far more civil, decent, and temperate language than many of his fiery brethren." Stillington bears testimony to the same effect; and Chancellor Hyde cannot sufficiently express his surprise, that so learned a man as Dr Owen embraced the novel opinion of independency. Owen's integrity is not for a moment to be called in question, when we recollect his own confession, that at the outset of life he was highly ambitious, and then witness him almost immediately attaching himself to the most despised body of religionists in the kingdom. As a writer, while we cannot give Owen the praise of an elegant style, and should, we dare say, find it impossible to select a single ornate sentence from his voluminous writings, we must claim for him the higher praise of simplicity of language, lucid reasoning, and clear systematic views of religious truth. His expository writings entitle him to no mean rank as a biblical critic, and his practical treatises are only surpassed by those of the seraphic Howe in devotional ardour and spirituality. An anonymous writer, who has studied and felt Owen's character deeply, thus writes of him:—"When I bring before me, in idea, the scene of the civil war,—crowded with daring spirits wound up to desperation,—agitated by the clash of rival energies, rival principles, rival prejudices, rival motives, and rival arms;—while crowns, mitres, and maces, lie as broken shields upon the arena of conflict; I feel as if it must have been impossible to do any thing during the struggle except to 'stand still and see the salvation of the Lord.' But to be at this time, at once a presiding spirit in the conflict, and a student such as Owen was, would have been to me inconceivable, were not his works before me. Cæsar wrote commentaries during his campaigns, but the world never witnessed the union of public enterprise and private exertion, in the same degree in which they subsisted in Owen. His engagements seem, in fact, subversive of each other; for what more apparently incompatible than solving cases of conscience, and counselling the great assembly of the nation; than being alternately closeted with statesmen and penitents;

than guiding the studies of universities, and the steps of pilgrims ; than preaching before parliament, and before the Essex farmers ; than walking with God and with Cromwell ! And yet these are the extremes which he managed to combine, without compromising principle, or serving 'the Lord deceitfully.' The Muses obeyed his call at Oxford, and re-visited the banks of Isis in the fulness of their inspiration ;—and the graces of the Holy Spirit came at his intercession to Coggeshall. He made the sages of antiquity popular at the university, and rendered Christ 'precious' in the humblest churches. The learned 'heard him gladly' as a chancellor, and 'the common people' as a pastor. Like the angel Gabriel, who could accommodate himself with equal facility to the timid Mary, and to the learned Daniel, Owen became all things to all men without disappointing any man, and was a Proteus free from stratagem. The explanation of all this is to be found, I apprehend, in his spiritual mindedness ; that enabled him to pass 'unspotted' through the contaminating and conflicting 'world' in which he lived. Spirituality encircled him with an enshrining halo, which, while it attracted general notice, intimidated even the ambitious from attempting to suborn him to their purposes. Neither Cromwell nor Charles II. dared to tamper with his integrity :

"Abashed, the Devil stood."

The author of Owen's epitaph has anticipated me in pointing out the true secret of his eminence : 'though a pilgrim on earth, he was next to a spirit in heaven.'

### **Bishop Morley.**

BORN A. D. 1597.—DIED A. D. 1684.

DR GEORGE MORLEY, who successively filled the sees of Worcester and Winchester, was the son of Mr Francis Morley, by a sister of Sir John Denham ; and was born in London on the 27th of February, 1597. At the age of fourteen he was elected a king's scholar at Westminster, and in 1615, became a student of Christ church, Oxford. After a residence of seven years at his college, he became chaplain to the earl of Carnarvon, and lived in that nobleman's family seven years.

In 1642, he took his degree of D. D. ; but his sermon which he preached before the house of commons soon after, gave so little satisfaction that the customary compliment of requesting him to print it was not paid him by that assembly, and he remained ever after under suspicion as a royalist. He was, however, permitted to attend Charles as one of his chaplains ; and he attended Lord Capel on the scaffold. In 1649, he went abroad, and attached himself to the family of Sir Edward Hyde in the quality of chaplain. The restoration, to which he mainly contributed by his active and judicious services, opened up preferment to him in his own country. Upon the king's return he was made dean of Christ church ; and in October, 1660, was nominated to the bishopric of Worcester.

In the following year, Bishop Morley took an active part in the conference betwixt the episcopal and presbyterian divines, who had been

commissioned to review the liturgy. Baxter informs us, that on this occasion, Morley proved himself a very able divine, and the best speaker among the bishops. The death of Dr Duppa made way for his translation to the richer bishopric of Winchester, which he enjoyed twenty-two years. He died on the 29th of October, 1684, having reached an advanced age by the temperance and regularity of his habits.

Morley was a hard-working student, and a pious as well as learned man. Calamy records several instances of his moderation towards dissenters; but he was at times very irritable, and gave way to a peevishness of disposition greatly beneath a man of his elevated rank and commanding talents. He was the author of a number of pamphlets chiefly of a polemical character.

### Benjamin Calamy, D.D.

DIED A. D. 1686.

BENJAMIN CALAMY, son of Edmund Calamy by a second wife, was educated first in St Paul's school, from whence he was removed to Catherine Hall, Cambridge, where, after taking several degrees, he became fellow and tutor. Having distinguished himself as a scholar and a preacher, he was chosen minister of St Mary Aldermanbury, the church from which his father had been ejected fifteen years before. His zeal in the cause of episcopacy obtained for him the favour of the court, and in a short time he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the king. He took the degree of D.D. in 1680, and in 1683 preached in his own church the famous sermon on Luke xi. 41, entitled, a 'Discourse about a scrupulous conscience.' It was subsequently published with a dedication to Sir George Jefferies, chief justice, and afterwards lord-chancellor. This sermon, containing a challenge to the nonconformists, was answered by Mr Thomas Delaune in a letter to Dr Calamy. Delaune was immediately committed to Newgate. He wrote to Dr Calamy supplicating his interference, and deprecating such a method of conducting the controversy. Calamy answered coldly, but promised assistance. Nothing effectual, however, was done, and it was but too evident that Calamy was well pleased to see his adversary placed under so powerful a restraint. In the January following Delaune was tried at the Old Bailey for a libel, and sentenced to pay a fine of 100 marks, and to remain prisoner till the same was paid. Delaune had no means of raising this sum of money, and his opponent, who had at least been the occasion of his sufferings, if not the direct agent of the persecution, made no effort to raise it for him. He did indeed apply to Jefferies for his pardon, but this could not be obtained. The result was, that Delaune, one of the ablest scholars and divines of the age, perished in Newgate, with his wife and children. His death is said to have given Dr Calamy great concern, as well it might. Delaune's appeal to Dr Calamy, after the trial and condemnation, is exceedingly powerful and touching, and has fixed an indelible stain upon the character of his persecutor.

Dr Calamy resigned the living of Aldermanbury in 1683, upon his admission to the vicarage of St Lawrence Jewry with St Mary Magda-

lene Milk-street annexed. In 1685 he obtained the prebend of Harleston, in St Paul's. Soon after, he met with a severe affliction in the condemnation of Mr Alderman Cornish, for high treason. He had appeared for him on his trial, and visited him in Newgate, nor did he cease to entreat Judge Jefferies in his favour, as long as any hope remained of saving his life. But Calamy was destined by a retributive Providence to feel, in this instance, the cruelty of that inexorable persecution against one of his own friends, whose severity against an innocent controvertist there is too much reason to think he had winked at, and secretly enjoyed, if not prompted. The reply of Jefferies to his last application in favour of Cornish was strikingly characteristic of that ermined monster:—"Dear Doctor, set your heart at rest, and give yourself no further trouble; for I assure you, that if you could offer a mine of gold as deep as the monument is high, and a bunch of pearls as big as the flames at the top of it, it would not purchase that man's life."

It has been said, that the execution of this gentleman, together with other public calamities, induced that illness under which the doctor speedily sunk. He terminated his earthly career in January, 1686. During his lifetime seven sermons were published which had been preached on special occasions, and, after his death, his brother James published, in one volume, thirteen others. These sermons have been much admired by episcopalian divines. They display very respectable abilities, and are calculated for impression.

### **Bishop Pearson.**

BORN A. D. 1612.—DIED A. D. 1686.

DR JOHN PEARSON, born in 1612, was successively master of Jesus and Trinity colleges in Cambridge, and also Margaret professor of divinity in that university. He held the living of St Clement's, Eastcheap, and was consecrated bishop of Chester on the 9th of February, 1672. He was an excellent divine and a profound scholar. His works are few but of great reputation. His exposition of what is called the Apostles' Creed, is esteemed one of the most finished pieces of theology in our language. It has gone through a great many editions. It has been alleged that as a bishop, Dr Pearson was somewhat too remiss and easy in the discharge of his episcopal functions; this may be accounted for in some measure, by the fact of his late preferment.

### **Bishop Fell.**

DIED A. D. 1686.

DR JOHN FELL was the son of Dr Samuel Fell, some time dean of Christ church, Oxford. In 1643 he graduated M. A. About this time he volunteered in the king's cause, and was made an ensign in the garrison of Oxford. After the restoration, his loyalty was rewarded with the deanery of Christ church. In 1667 he was made vice-chancel-

lor of the university, and in 1675 was consecrated bishop of Oxford. Learning was greatly indebted to his patronage and munificence. He was a munificent benefactor to his college, and greatly improved the press of the university. For many years he annually published a book, generally a classic author, to which he wrote a preface and notes, and presented it to the students of his college as a new year's gift: among these was a very valuable and excellent edition of the Greek Testament in 12mo. 1675. His edition of the works of Cyprian affords also a conspicuous proof of his industry and learning.

## John Bunyan.

BORN A. D. 1628.—DIED A. D. 1688.

JOHN BUNYAN, the author of 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' was born at Elstow, near Bedford, in 1628. His parents were poor but honest people, who gave their son such an education as their circumstances could afford. His early life was marked by many irregularities; even while yet a child, he says of himself, he "had but few equals for cursing, swearing, lying, and blaspheming the holy name of God." Bunyan has, in his 'Grace Abounding,' given many curious particulars of his early history and experience. It is a most interesting psychological document, but our limits forbid quotation.

About the year 1653, Bunyan became a member of the Baptist church in Bedford, then under the care of the Rev. John Gifford. Three years afterwards, he began to preach himself. He has given the particulars of this important crisis in his history, in a piece entitled, 'A Brief Account of the Author's Call to the Work of the Ministry.' After having exercised his gifts for about five years, during which time he supported himself by his honest industry as a tinker, he was apprehended and indicted "as an upholder and maintainer of unlawful assemblies and conventicles, and for not conforming to the national worship of the church of England." To this event, disastrous as its first aspect was to himself and his family, he was indebted, under the providence of God, for that leisure which enabled him to compose those various treatises with which his name is now associated, and some of which will stand alone and unrivalled while the world endures.

"It is not known," says Southey, "in what year 'The Pilgrim's Progress' was first published, no copy of the first edition having as yet been discovered. The second is in the British Museum; it is with additions, and its date is 1678. But as the book is known to have been written during Bunyan's imprisonment, which terminated in 1672, it was probably published before his release, or, at latest, immediately after it." The eighth edition of this work was printed for Nathaniel Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, for whom also a tenth edition was published in 1685. "The rapidity," says Southey, "with which editions succeeded one another, and the demand for pictures to illustrate them, are not the only proofs of the popularity which 'The Pilgrim's Progress' obtained before the second part was published. In the verses prefixed to that part, Bunyan complains of dishonest imitators:—

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'Some have of late, to counterfeit  
My Pilgrim, to their own my title set;  
Yea, others, half my name and title too,  
Have stitched to their books, to make them do.

"These interlopers," Mr Southey continues, "may have very likely given Bunyan an additional inducement to prepare a second part himself. It appeared in 1684. No additions or alterations were made in this part, though the author lived more than four years after its publication."

'The Pilgrim's Progress' has been translated into almost all the modern European languages. Next to the Bible, it is probably the most popular book in the world. Writers of all parties, and of every variety of taste, have concurred in representing it as a master-piece of piety and genius,—'in which sweet fiction and sweet truth alike prevail.' It is certainly the finest allegorical piece of writing extant.

"If this work," says Southey, "is not a well of English undefiled, it is a clear stream of current English, the vernacular speech of his age; sometimes, indeed, in its rusticity and coarseness, but always in its plainness and its strength. To this natural style Bunyan is in some degree beholden for his general popularity; his language is every where level to the most ignorant reader, and to the meanest capacity: there is a homely reality about it; a nursery tale is not more intelligible in its manner of narration to a child. Another cause of his popularity is, that he taxes the imagination as little as the understanding. The vividness of his own imagination is such, that he saw the things of which he was writing as distinctly with his mind's eye as if they were indeed passing before him in a dream. And the reader, perhaps, sees them more satisfactorily to himself, because the outline only of the picture is presented to him, and the author having made no attempt to fill up the details, every reader supplies them according to the measure and scope of his own intellectual and imaginative powers."

Mr Ivey remarks, "The plan of this work is admirable, being drawn from the circumstances of his own life, as a stranger and pilgrim, who had left the 'City of Destruction,' upon a journey towards the 'Celestial Country.' The difficulties he met with in his determination to serve Jesus Christ, suggested the many circumstances of danger through which this pilgrim passed. The versatile conduct of some professors of religion, suggested the different characters which Christian met with in his way; these, most probably, were persons whom he well knew, and who, perhaps, would be individually read at the time. His deep and trying experience, arising from convictions of sin, drew the picture of a man with a heavy burden upon his back, crying as he fled from destruction, but going he knew not whither, 'Life! life! eternal life!'"

"With the account of his experience and imprisonment before us," Mr Ivey justly observes, "we cease to wonder that Bunyan's fine imagination, though he had no books but the Bible, and Fox's 'Acts and Monuments,' should produce so exquisite a performance as 'The Pilgrim's Progress:' it naturally grew out of the circumstances of his life. The manner in which he relates the steps that led to its composition and publication, is so simple and yet so expressive, that though it is printed with every edition of this work, as the author's apology



for it, yet I cannot withhold myself the pleasure of inserting it in this place.

When at the first I took my pen in hand  
 Thus for to write, I did not understand  
 That I at all should make a little book,  
 In such a mode; nay, I had undertook  
 To make another; which, when almost done,  
 Before I was aware, I this begun:  
 And thus it was—I, writing of the way,  
 And race of saints, in this our gospel day,  
 Fell suddenly into an allegory,  
 About their journey, and the way to glory,  
 In more than twenty things which I set down:  
 This done, I twenty more had in my crown;  
 And they again began to multiply,  
 Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly.  
 Nay then, thought I, if that you breed so fast,  
 I'll put you by yourselves, lest you at last  
 Should prove *ad infinitum*, and eat out  
 The book that I already am about.  
 Well, so I did, but yet, I did not think  
 To show to all the world my pen and ink  
 In such a mode; I only thought to make  
 I knew not what; nor did I undertake  
 Thereby to please my neighbour; no not I;  
 I did it mine own self to gratify.  
 Neither did I but vacant seasons spend,  
 In this my scribble, nor did I intend  
 But to divert myself, in doing this,  
 From worsè thoughts, which make me do amiss.  
 Thus I set pen to paper with delight,  
 And quickly had my thoughts in black and white:  
 For having now my method by the end,  
 Still as I pulled, it came; and so I penned  
 It down; until at last, it came to be,  
 For length and breadth, the bigness which you see.  
 Well, when I had thus put my ends together,  
 I showed them others, that I might see whether  
 They would condemn them, or them justify;  
 And some said, Let them live; some, let them die;  
 Some said, John, print it; others said, Not so;  
 Some said, It might do good, others said, No.  
 Now was I in a strait, and did not see  
 Which was the best thing to be done by me;  
 At last I thought, since you are thus divided,  
 I print it will; and so the case decided.'

"Thus, it appears, that, concerning this work, which, from the excellence of its matter, and from the circumstances in which it was written, has excited universal admiration, the good man was himself obliged to give the casting vote in its favour, and was doubtless charged with vanity by many for publishing it: but he will now be justified, as actuated by the spirit of love and of a sound mind."

Bunyan was restored to liberty in 1672, through the interference, it is generally supposed, of Barlow, bishop of Lincoln. Soon after his enlargement, he built a chapel at Bedford, by the contributions of his friends; and here he continued to preach to large audiences till his death. He also occasionally extended his ministrations to the surrounding country. Little, however, has been recorded of his life dur-

ing the sixteen years which elapsed between his enlargement and death. He died in London on the 12th of August 1688. He is described as having been "tall of stature, strong-boned, but not corpulent, somewhat of a ruddy face, with sparkling eyes, wearing his hair on his upper lip, after the old British fashion. His hair reddish, but, in his latter days, time had sprinkled it with grey. His nose well set, but not declining nor bending, and his mouth moderately large, his forehead somewhat high, and his habit always plain and modest."

Bunyan's writings are numerous, and of very different degrees of merit. Besides 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' he is the author of another allegorical treatise, entitled, 'The Holy War.' It is, however, a work of very inferior merit compared with the other.

The fall and recovery of man are represented in 'The Holy War' by two remarkable revolutions in the town of Mansoul: the human soul being represented allegorically as a once beautiful and prosperous town, seduced from its allegiance to its king and governor by the stratagems of Diabolus, his inveterate enemy; but, after a tedious war, again recovered by the victorious arms of Immanuel, the king's son. Bunyan was not unqualified for the management of a military allegory, having himself been a soldier in early life, and present at some of the contests in the civil war. His works were collected and published in folio, in 1692, by Ebenezer Chandler, Bunyan's successor at Bedford, and John Wilson, a brother pastor. His biography has engaged several pens. Scott, Burder, Ivimey, and Southey, have written memoirs of Bunyan; and several elaborate essays on his writings and genius have appeared in periodical works.

## George Fox.

BORN A. D. 1624.—DIED A. D. 1690.

GEORGE FOX, the founder of the society of friends or quakers, was born at Fenny-Drayton, a village of Leicestershire, in the year 1624. His father is reputed to have been a man of strictly religious habits, and to have paid great attention to the education of his son. He was however in the humble rank of a weaver, and was very probably infected with something of the fanaticism which too frequently prevailed in that age, prolific above all others in forms of opinion and variety of sects. George Fox was apprenticed at a suitable age to a grazier, and there is little doubt that his occupation tended to foster the native bias of his mind. The keeping of sheep has been found in all ages favourable to meditation. The pastoral life has been honoured by some of the most illustrious visions of inspiration, and it has often also been a nursery of wild imaginations and fanatical delusions.\*

At the age of nineteen he professed to have received a divine com-

\* Whatever were the extravagances and improprieties of George Fox's public conduct, to which we cannot avoid alluding, we wish to infer from them no charge whatever against that highly respectable and benevolent body who own him as the founder of their sect, but who would, we believe, be the last to justify, or to imitate many of the actions attributed to Fox.

mission or call to forsake his worldly employment, and commence the work of a religious reformer. Having equipped himself with a leathern doublet, he forsook his situation and commenced a wandering life without any very distinct notions of the nature of the reform he wished to promote, or any plan of operations. Having made his way to London, he remained for some time concealed in obscurity, but was at length discovered by his relations, and through their earnest importunities was induced to return with them to his home. But his inclination to reform the vices and errors of the time was not to be thus repressed. After a short period he again commenced his itinerant life, sought retirement in woods and solitudes, read and studied the Bible, and practised fasting. Sometimes he affected the hermit, and would sit enclosed for a whole day in a hollow tree! When he was about four and twenty he began to propagate his opinions publicly, and commenced as a preacher first in Manchester, where for a time he gained little attention. After this he moved from place to place through the adjoining counties, and usually preached in the market-places, where he was variously received, being sometimes treated with scorn, and often with cruelty and persecution. By degrees his opinions assumed a definite shape, and he began to enforce those peculiarities of dress, language, and sentiment, which constitute now the peculiarities of quakerism. About this period too, the sect, which began to number a few proselytes, received the nickname of *quakerism*. It is said to have originated at Derby in consequence of their trembling and agitated mode of delivery, as if suffering under a divine afflatus, and also in their calls upon the magistracy to tremble before the Lord. In some places the rude attacks of Fox, or some of his preachers, upon the public worship of other bodies of Christians, produced serious disturbances. In 1655, Fox was seized by the magistracy and remitted as a prisoner to Cromwell: but that wise usurper soon discovered by a personal examination that there was nothing in the opinions of Fox inimical to the stability and order of civil government, and in consequence he ordered him to be immediately restored to liberty. The local magistrates, however, were indisposed to treat him with similar lenity. Indeed the conduct of Fox and his partisans in disturbing the ministers during their public services, by violent exclamations and indecent interruptions, justly exposed them both to censure and punishment; and had it not been for the kindly interference of the protector on several occasions, Fox would not have escaped with impunity. Notwithstanding the license he had hitherto taken in assailing other sects, he considered himself and his party the subjects of unchristian persecution, and in many instances they undoubtedly were so. When a public fast was appointed on account of the persecution of protestants abroad, he took occasion to publish an address to the heads and governors of the nation, in which he powerfully appealed against similar severities, as he considered them, exercised against Christian professors at home. This protest was not without its use in exposing the inconsistency and impolicy of persecution under any circumstances, and in any of its forms. During the early part of Charles the Second's reign, Fox, like all other dissenters, was subject to many cruelties. Previous, however, to this period, he had made many proselytes to his opinions. In the year 1666 we find him in prison for his nonconformity, and in the same year he was liberated

by order of the king. About the same time he commenced the formation of regular societies, and for this purpose travelled extensively through the kingdom, and met with much success. In the year 1669, he married the widow of Judge Fell, and soon after embarked on a mission to America, where already a few of his friends had settled. He continued there two years, made many proselytes, and then returned to England. Preaching soon after at Worcester, he was cast into prison, but was not long detained. He then passed over into Holland, but soon returned and was harassed by a suit for ecclesiastical claims, in which he was cast. The many vexations he now endured, and the persecutions which almost universally followed him, drove him again into exile. But his health being impaired by the toilsome and suffering life he had passed, he again sought an asylum in his native country, where he lived in a more quiet and retired manner till the period of his death, which took place in 1690, when he was about 67 years of age. Although Fox was very illiterate yet he wrote many treatises and tracts on theological and controversial subjects. These were collected and published after his death, in 3 vols. folio. The first contains his Journal—the second his Letters—and the third his Doctrinal Pieces. There are also a few separate pamphlets not contained in these volumes.<sup>1</sup>

### John Flavel, B.A.

BORN A. D. 1627.—DIED A. D. 1691.

JOHN FLAVEL, of University college, Oxford, the son of Mr Richard Flavel, minister of Bromsgrove, afterwards of Hasler, Worcestershire, was born in 1627. At the university he was distinguished by diligence and ability. Before the age of twenty-three he took the degree of B.A., and soon after was recommended as an assistant to Mr Walplate of Dipford, Devonshire. He settled there in April, 1650, and about six months after, was examined and ordained by an assembly of presbyterian ministers held at Salisbury. This took place Oct. 17. On Mr Walplate's death, which happened very soon after, Mr Flavel succeeded to the rectory. Here he married Mrs Joan Randal, a pious and excellent woman, of good family, but she died in child-birth with her first child. After the lapse of a suitable time, he married Elizabeth Morrice, who proved a help-meet to him in his bodily afflictions and his public troubles. Some time after this second marriage, he received an unanimous invitation to succeed Mr Anthony Hartford at Dartmouth. This being a more populous place, and consequently a larger sphere of usefulness, Mr Flavel was induced by the advice of several neighbouring ministers to accept the invitation, though the rectory of Dipford was a far more valuable living, and his situation at Dartmouth was only that of assistant to Mr Geare. An order for his settlement was issued by the commissioners for approbation of public preachers, dated Dec. 19, 1656. Notwithstanding this great pecuniary sacrifice, Mr Flavel cheerfully entered upon the duties of his larger sphere of labour. During the few years of quiet that followed, he diligently pursued his

<sup>1</sup> Clarkson's Life—Jowett's History of Quakers.

ministerial calling, and became an exceedingly useful and popular minister. In less than six years, however, he was silenced by the act of uniformity, and compelled to relinquish his living. For some time he continued privately to minister to the edification and comfort of his flock, but upon the passing of the Oxford or five mile act, he was constrained to quit Dartmouth for some residence five miles from any corporate town. Upon this occasion a large proportion of the inhabitants of Dartmouth accompanied him out of the town, and took leave of him at the church-yard of Townstall, which is the mother church to Dartmouth, and where he had partly laboured in conjunction with Mr Allan Geare. This parting is said to have been very sorrowful on both sides—on that of the people for their persecuted minister, and on that of the minister for his bereaved flock.

He removed to a place called Slapton, a parish five miles from Dartmouth. A manuscript account, which has been preserved, states, that the house to which he retired was called Hudscott, a seat belonging to the family of the Rolles, near South Molton, and that he preached in the great hall at midnight for secrecy, when it was thronged with attentive auditors. Here he remained in safety for some time, although he preached afterwards in the day-time, and had great numbers of his former parishioners from Dartmouth to hear him. It is also stated that he occasionally slipped by night into Dartmouth, and preached to his friends in private, and that though many adversaries were upon the watch, he never, on any of these excursions, fell into their hands.

During this period of severe suffering to the nonconformists, he happened to be once at Exeter, and was importuned by many good people of that city to preach to them in a wood. He consented, and a place was accordingly chosen about three miles from the city. The sermon was scarcely begun when their enemies came upon them. Mr Flavel, by the assistance of his friends, who stood firmly by him, made his escape through the very midst of their persecutors, and though some were seized and dragged away to a neighbouring justice, yet the remainder, undismayed by the attack that had been made upon them, accompanied Mr Flavel to another wood, where he preached his sermon without further disturbance. After this service Mr Flavel was hospitably entertained for the night at the house of a gentleman, an entire stranger, near the wood; and the next day returned in perfect safety to his friends in the city of Exeter.

On the first indulgence granted by King Charles to the nonconformists, he returned to Dartmouth, and kept an open meeting in the town. This liberty being, however, soon after recalled, he laboured in private only, as opportunity could be found. But at length the spirit of persecution rose so high that he deemed it unsafe to remain any longer in Dartmouth, and, accordingly, resolved to remove to London.

During the period of his absence from Dartmouth, he had lost his second wife, and was married a third time to Ann Downe, daughter of Mr Thomas Downe, minister at Exeter. She bore him two sons, but lived only eleven years after their marriage.

Previous to his departure for London, which it was determined should be by sea, Mr Flavel had a remarkable dream, which occurred only the night before his embarkation. From this he augured that he should have some trouble on the passage. His friends, however, as-

sured him he was likely to enjoy good weather. Off Portland isle, however, they were overtaken by a dreadful tempest. The seamen, after much effort to manage the ship, concluded that they must be lost, unless the wind were changed. Upon this Mr Flavel called all that could be spared to join him in prayer in the cabin. With great difficulty, owing to the rocking and pitching of the ship, they performed this solemn duty, Mr Flavel himself clinging while in prayer to the pillars of the cabin bed. Soon after he had finished this solemn appeal to heaven, one came down from the deck, crying "Deliverance! deliverance!—God is a God-hearing prayer! In a moment the wind is become fair west!" They soon after arrived safe in London. Here he found many friends, and was much engaged in privately preaching, but being once very nearly apprehended by some soldiers, who burst in upon a few ministers assembled only for prayer and fasting, he resolved to quit London, and retire again to Dartmouth. Before this event, however, he had lost his third wife, and married a fourth; a widow lady, and daughter of Sir George Jefferies, minister of Kingsbridge. Upon his return to Dartmouth, however, he found it no longer prudent even to venture out of doors, and in consequence, was confined a close prisoner to his house. Yet even then he did not wholly discontinue his ministry; for many of his congregation used to steal in late in the night of Saturday, or early on the Sunday morning, and so continue with him all the Sunday, enjoying the benefit of his instructions. During this period he received two pressing invitations to return to London, and accept the charge of large and opulent congregations. But though Mr Flavel had a family of children to maintain, and but a small supply from his friends at Dartmouth, yet nothing could induce him to forsake the poor people who had been so long the objects of his solicitude.

In 1687, when James II., for the purpose of favouring the catholics, thought proper to increase the liberties of dissenters, Mr Flavel again stepped forth to public labour. A large place of worship was accordingly built for him in Dartmouth, and a numerous congregation soon gathered. Here he continued to labour with great success till the 26th of June, 1691, when he was suddenly cut down by a stroke of paralysis, in the 64th year of his age. He was a man of distinguished excellence, and of a peaceable disposition. Through all the changes and troubles of the persecuting times in which he lived, he conducted himself with great prudence and moderation. Though frequently exposed to danger, he never fell into the hands of his enemies, but died at length, crowned with honour and success.

His works are—1. *Πνευματολογία*, or a treatise of the soul of man. 2. The Fountain of Life, in 42 sermons. 3. The Method of Grace, in 35 sermons. 4. England's Duty, in 11 sermons. 5. A Token for Mourners. 6. Husbandry Spiritualized. 7. Navigation Spiritualized. 8. Repentance enforced by arguments from reason only. 9. Several other pieces collected since his death. The whole published in two volumes folio, with his life prefixed. There is also an edition of his works in eight volumes 8vo.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Calmet.—Middleton.

## Richard Baxter.

BORN A. D. 1615.—DIED A. D. 1691.

RICHARD BAXTER, son of Richard Baxter, of Eaton-Constantine in Shropshire, was born Nov. 12, 1615. He received his earliest education, from six to ten years of age, under the successive curates of the parish, but describes himself as having learnt very little from any of them. Of Mr John Owen, however, the master of the free school at Wroxeter, he speaks very respectfully. From Mr Owen's care he was transferred to Ludlow, and placed under the tuition of the Rev. Mr Wickstead. But Baxter enjoyed little instruction from this gentleman, though he found means to pursue his studies by the assistance of books. It is remarkable that with such a glaring neglect of initiation Baxter should ever have risen to eminence. But possibly the license of these early years, in this respect, tended to cherish that independence of thought which distinguished him in after life. After leaving Ludlow he returned to his father's house, and, for a short time, took charge of his old master's school at Wroxeter. Having, however, determined to enter into the ministry, he placed himself as a theological pupil under Mr Francis Garbet, then the minister at Wroxeter. Here it seems he applied his mind chiefly to logic, metaphysics, and the schoolmen: for it is certain he never made any considerable attainments as a linguist. At the age of eighteen his tutor advised him to relinquish the church, and try his fortune at court. He was accordingly introduced to Sir Henry Newport, the master of the revels. Having passed about a month at Whitehall in witnessing the gaieties of a dissolute and irreligious court, he returned home at the solicitations of his mother, who was ill, but rejoicing to escape from scenes in which he could find no satisfaction. He soon after lost his mother, and his mind became more than ever impressed with the duty of entering into the ministry. He had paid some attention already to the puritan controversy, but continued a decided churchman. About his twentieth year he became acquainted with several eminent nonconformists, by whose piety he acknowledges himself to have been greatly benefitted; but still he entertained no scruples which could have prevented his subscription. About the year 1638, Mr Thomas Foley, of Stourbridge, built and endowed a school at Dudley, the mastership of which he offered to Baxter. This was accordingly accepted, and Baxter repaired to Worcester, and was ordained by Bishop Thornborough, receiving at the same time the bishop's license to teach the school at Dudley. There, in the upper church, he commenced his ministry—and there, too, he first began to waver respecting conformity. He continued at Dudley about a year, and then removed to Bridgnorth as an assistant to the parish minister, Mr Madstard. While settled at Bridgnorth there appeared that extraordinary measure called the *et cetera* oath, which tended greatly to alarm and disturb Baxter's conscience. He determined not to submit to this oath. About this time the parliament interfered, and evinced their opposition to this measure, as well as to many others both in church and state, which King Charles had thought proper, under the influence of Laud

and Strafford, to enforce. Much confusion now ensued in the state of the church. The committee of the long parliament was appointed to inquire into the state of the clergy, and examine how far they discharged properly the duties of their station. In consequence of this committee finding the minister of Kidderminster a very incompetent man, the inhabitants of that place were allowed to invite Baxter to become an assistant, to preach to them, while their other minister was to read the prayers, &c. He accordingly entered upon his duties there in the year 1640, and continued in the discharge of them for about two years, till the war drove him away. His removal appears to have been caused by the violence of a royalist mob. The county of Worcester was staunch to the king's cause, and the royal army occupied it. This may account for the odium which Baxter's attachment to the parliamentary cause drew upon him in Kidderminster.

During the period of the war, he sometimes attended and preached to the army, but, for a considerable period, resided at Coventry, where he was occupied partly in study, and partly in preaching to the garrison, and disputing with all sorts of sects. But subsequently he became a regular chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment, and an attendant upon the army, endeavouring to repress immorality and promote piety. It is remarkable that during this busy period he should have written several excellent works, and among them one by which, perhaps, he has been best known, and become most useful to the world—that is, 'The Saints' Rest.' This work evinces the extraordinary elevation and vigour of mind which he then enjoyed, and especially his devout abstraction from the noisy and anxious scenes in which he must have moved. It has been well remarked, that "had he never written more, this book would have stamped his character as one of the most devotional and most eloquent men of his own, or of any other age."

Upon the termination of the civil war, Baxter, at the request of the inhabitants, returned, as lecturer, to Kidderminster, after having suffered a long illness brought on by a violent bleeding at the nose. He resumed his station at Kidderminster in 1648, and laboured there with much success, and with an increasing influence in the town and neighbourhood, until the dissolution of the commonwealth. He took a zealous part in all the public movements of the age, engaged in almost every controversy, and was constantly intermixed with the parties and the politics of the times. Notwithstanding the extreme dissoluteness of the inhabitants of the town of Kidderminster, and the repugnance of their political feelings to his, he yet became the instrument of great good among them, and effected such a reformation as few ministers of the gospel have ever seen in the midst of so considerable a population. He continued to labour most zealously for the benefit of his parishioners during the space of about thirteen years, when the act of uniformity, passed and enforced in 1662, constrained him to quit the church, and forsake the scene of his useful and happy exertions. This period of his life was especially marked by the production of many of his most useful and popular works, especially his 'Call to the Unconverted,' 'Reformed Pastor,' &c. &c.

Before Baxter finally renounced the church of England, he took a conspicuous part in the conference at the Savoy; and after the total failure of that attempt at pacification, he further endeavoured to obtain



a reinstatement as preacher at Kidderminster. But though he was offered the bishopric of Hereford if he would conform, yet he could not obtain even the poor favour of his lectureship without it. Such, however, was the high respect felt for Baxter, that the king and the lord-chancellor would have willingly restored him to his lectureship; but their favour was counteracted and entirely defeated by Sir Ralph Clare and Morley bishop of Worcester. Upon the total abandonment of all hope of a restoration to his people, he obtained a license to preach occasionally in and about London, and was appointed one of the king's chaplains. Shortly after the passing of the act of ejectment, an event occurred in Baxter's history which made no inconsiderable noise—this was his marriage. "Some time before it took place," he tells us, "it was reported, and rung about every where, partly as a wonder, and partly as a crime; and that the king's marriage was scarcely more talked of than his." The lady whom he chose was Miss Margaret Charlton, daughter of Francis Charlton, Esq. She was not more than twenty-three, and he was in his forty-seventh year. This lady had a small property, which was of eminent service to him in his declining years, and the many heavy troubles and vexations which succeeded his ejectment. Immediately after the passing of the Bartholomew act, the nonconformists were greatly harassed; but still many of them continued to preach privately in London, and Baxter as zealously as any, though he was frequently in great danger for doing so. Having lived about three years in London, and finding it greatly prejudicial to his health, as well as to his studies, he determined upon retiring a short distance into the country. Accordingly, in July, 1668, he removed to Acton, a village about five miles east of London, where he diligently pursued his studies, and finished his elaborate and valuable work, entitled 'A Christian Directory.' Besides this laborious production, he wrote, between the time of leaving Kidderminster and the year 1665, several others, both practical and controversial. Among these were the 'Life of Faith,' 'The successive Visibility of the Church,' 'The vain religion of the formal hypocrite,' 'The last work of a Believer,' 'The mischiefs of Self-ignorance,' 'The controversy with the bishop of Worcester,' 'The Saint or Brute,' 'Now or Never,' and 'The Divine Life.' "These works, considering the public business in which he was engaged, and his various trials and changes, must have found him very full employment; and only a mind of unceasing activity, and a pen of more than ordinary despatch, could have accomplished so much."

During Baxter's residence at Acton he preached but very little, except to his own family, because at that time the act against conventicles was in full force, and much zeal was displayed by the zealous episcopalians in bringing to punishment all who dared to violate it. But when that act expired he had a large attendance, and soon found that he had not room to receive the people. During this period he witnessed both the plague and the fire of London, which he describes in an affecting and interesting manner in his life. While residing at Acton he also enjoyed the acquaintance and friendship of Sir Matthew Hale, the lord-chief-baron of the exchequer, and one assuredly of the most eminent Christians and exemplary judges whom England ever produced. Baxter draws his character with great ability, and mentions the kindness which Sir Matthew showed to him with much gratitude. "When

the people crowded in and out of my house to hear, he openly showed me so great respect before them at the door, and never spoke a word against it, as was no small encouragement to the common people to go on; though the other sort muttered, that a judge should seem so far to countenance that which they took to be against the law." But Baxter's proceedings at Acton were viewed in a very different light by Dr Ryves, the clergyman of the parish. He procured a warrant, and had Baxter cited before the justices at Brentford. By the *mittimus* of these justices he was sent to Clerkenwell prison for holding a conventicle, and refusing to take the Oxford oath. Baxter says, "the whole town of Acton were greatly exasperated against the dean (Dr Ryves) when I was going to prison; so much so, that ever after they abhorred him as a selfish persecutor." After remaining in prison some time, he was brought up to the court of common pleas by writ of *habeas corpus*, and discharged upon the defects of the *mittimus*. Another was subsequently made out against him, but was not, we suspect, enforced. He removed, however, from Acton to Totteridge, near Barnet, where he spent about a year, but in a weak state of health generally, and sometimes in great pain.

In the year 1670 the act against conventicles was renewed with increased severity, and in violation of all sound principles of justice. It was declared that the faults of the *mittimus* should not vitiate it, and that, in all doubtful cases, the act should be interpreted in the sense most unfavourable to conventicles. The consequence of this act was extreme violence and outrage against the most respectable and distinguished of the nonconformist ministers of London. But, soon after, the rigour of this act was in a good degree relaxed; and, through the connivance of the king and his council, the ministers were allowed to hold their meetings undisturbed. This was considered a wise and useful measure, as most of the churches destroyed by the great fire still remained in ruins, and most religious persons felt a dreary want of pious instruction. The object, however, of this relaxation, was less to favour the nonconformists, than to serve the papists, and in conformity with the secret treaty with France. It was followed, in 1672, by the king's declaration, dispensing with the penal laws against nonconformity, the object of which also was still more openly to admit of catholic worship. Under favour of this declaration, Baxter obtained a license, and about November, 1672, recommenced public preaching, and removed his family to Bloomsbury. He preached a Tuesday lecture in New Street, Fetterlane, but undertook no regular charge of a congregation.

About this time the jealousies of popery rose to a great height, and, as afterwards appeared, upon just ground. In consequence of these fears, the king's declaration was voted illegal by the parliament—but to procure the concurrence of the nonconformists to the test act, a measure was promised by which their worship was to be legally tolerated. They quietly acquiesced in the test act, through the general dread all parties entertained of popery, but they found no return of kindness from the episcopal party, whose cause they had succoured when in the utmost danger. The nonconformists were now deprived of the protection of the king's declaration, and exposed again to all the penal statutes against this worship. In London, however, they were usually connived at, on account of the common danger which drove

protestants of all classes into more friendly terms with each other. About 1674, Baxter suffered severe affliction for many months, which compelled him to relinquish most of his public services. He rallied however in health, about the middle of 1674, and preached once a-week at St James's market-house, where he says his labours were much wanted, and where his preaching was eminently successful in the reformation of many. But after this period, the laws against conventicles were again rigidly enforced, through the zeal and intolerance of some of the bishops. Baxter was the first and chief victim. Upon him convictions and fines were continually heaped, through the intervention of informers and bigotted magistrates. Notwithstanding the inconveniences and troubles of the times, Baxter continued to preach frequently at St James's market-house, but his people desiring a larger place, one was built for him in Oxenden street. Before he entered upon the use of it, he was deprived of nearly all he possessed by persecution.

The following affecting statement will show to what a condition of poverty and want this good man was reduced by the harassing measures which the prelates pursued against him :—"I was so long wearied with keeping my doors shut against those that came to distrain on my goods for preaching, that I was fain to go from my house, and to sell all my goods, and to hide my library first, and afterwards to sell it; so that if books had been my treasure (and I valued little more on earth), I had now been without a treasure. For about twelve years I was driven an hundred miles from them; and when I had paid dear for the carriage, after two or three years I was forced to sell them. The prelates, to hinder me from preaching, deprived me also of these private comforts; but God saw that they were my snare. We brought nothing into this world, and we must carry nothing out. The loss is very tolerable. I was the more willing to part with goods, books, and all, that I might have nothing to be distrained, and so go on to preach." But as Baxter continued from time to time to disappoint his persecutors, their violence became the more exasperated. The chapel which had been built for him was not used more than a very few times before his ill health rendered country air necessary; and when he was somewhat recovered, then the spirit of persecution kept him from occupying his place. Thus he continued much in retirement, and devoted his leisure to the useful purpose of writing, and during this period he composed many valuable works. But his preaching was continually watched. A constable was placed to prevent his entering the chapel in Oxenden street to perform service, and he had to pay £30 a-year ground-rent for a place he was not allowed to use. Still he gained access to another chapel in Swallow street, where he preached whenever it was considered safe. But here again he was so watched for many months as to be kept out of the pulpit. He then accepted an invitation to preach to a congregation in Southwark, where he laboured for some months without any disturbance. About the year 1680, he lost, by death, his amiable and excellent partner, who had been a great support and comfort to him in his many trials and harassing persecutions. In the year 1681 his afflictions and trials increased. He was apprehended, fined, and imprisoned—then released, then imprisoned again, and bound to good behaviour. These persecutions were frequently repeated between the years 1681 and 1687. The death of Charles II. and acces-

sion of James II. only opened new prospects of oppression and suffering to Baxter and his friends. In May, 1684-5, he was brought to trial before the lord-chief-justice, Jefferies, on an extraordinary charge of sedition. The indictment was founded upon his 'Notes on the New Testament,' and set forth, that, in certain places, he had reflected upon the bishops of the church of England, and so was guilty of sedition. The infamous conduct of the chief-justice on this occasion was perhaps one of the most glaring instances of oppression and injustice which ever disgraced the English bench. Even his counsel were not allowed to speak freely on his behalf, and the jury, under the direction of the judge, found the defendant guilty. At first, the punishment intended by Jefferies was a public whipping through the city, but the other judges would not consent to it, and the sentence—called 'a mitigated one,' but all will think severe enough—was, that he should pay a fine of five hundred marks, lie in prison till it was paid, and be bound to good behaviour for seven years. The conduct of Jefferies, however, on this occasion, was but a specimen of those tragedies which he afterwards enacted in the west, and which contributed more, perhaps, than any thing else to bring on the downfall of the royal miscreant, whose tool and creature Jefferies was. These hateful proceedings, commencing in Baxter's trial and condemnation, may be said to have been the principal means of working the effectual and permanent deliverance of the nation from the insupportable oppressions of the Stuart dynasty. But, upon the sentence thus pronounced, Baxter being totally unable to pay the fine, went to prison, where he remained two years. His imprisonment was greatly alleviated by the kindness of his friends; and at length the court finding that he would neither pay the fine nor petition the parliament, sent him a release on the 24th of November, 1686. For some time after he resided in Charterhouse-yard, and assisted Mr Sylvester in the duties of the ministry. A declaration of King James II., issued in April, 1687, for liberty of conscience, was intended to benefit the catholics, but it proved also a happy and seasonable relief to the persecuted dissenters generally. Speedily after this, the Revolution followed, and brought with it a legal toleration. After this happy event, Mr Baxter was permitted to live till an agreement of the most truly Christian character was formed between the presbyterians and independents. He lived also to see his country restored again to peace, after a long season of bitter contention, agitation, and change. From the period of the Revolution till his death, a space of three years, he continued to assist his friend, Mr Sylvester, and, even in the midst of suffering, continued his public services till he had nearly expired in the pulpit—so determined was he to preach the gospel as long as any strength remained to enable him to do so. He died in great peace and joy, December 8, 1691, aged 76, and was buried in Christ church.<sup>1</sup>

Of a character so well known and so generally admired by men of all parties it is scarcely necessary to speak. He was a man of great energy, great piety, and great industry. With unwearied zeal he

<sup>1</sup> It is a singular fact, that no monument has been reared to perpetuate his memory. If this fact, in one view, is an honour to a name that cannot perish, in another, it is a disgrace to those who ought to have consecrated the spot where his ashes repose.

devoted himself to the sacred profession, and was made extensively useful. His learning was rather wide than deep, but his natural acuteness and ingenuity either supplied or concealed the defects of his education. His peculiar views in theology are a compound of the Calvinistic and Arminian schemes—at least so they are generally represented—but we believe few in the present day of any school, are disposed to think that he has successfully united the hostile theories. For a time Baxter's views had an extensive influence among the nonconformists. Men were proud of owning themselves Baxterians, and his views had well nigh formed and perpetuated a distinct sect. But their influence has become lost through their refinement and subtlety.—It is now most generally thought that Baxter was fitted rather for practical, than for speculative divinity. All parties conspire to do homage to his piety, integrity, and talents. Dr Barrow said, his practical writings were never mended, and his controversial ones seldom confuted. The honourable Robert Boyle said, “he was the fittest man of the age for a casuist, because he feared no man's displeasure, nor hoped for any man's preferment.” Archbishop Usher condescended importunately to request him to write on the subject of conversion, and thereby he evinced the high value he set upon his works. Dr Manton thought he came nearest the apostolical writings of any man of his age. Dr Bates said, “his books for their number and variety of matter, make a library. They contain a treasure of controversial, casuistical, and practical divinity.”

As to his works in detail, it is quite impossible to recount them here. In the new edition lately published in London, and which contains only a part of them, there are 22 vols. 8vo. “The best method of forming a correct opinion of Baxter's labours from the press, is by comparing them with some of his brethren, who wrote a great deal. The works of Bishop Hall amount to ten vols. 8vo.; Lightfoot's extend to thirteen; Jeremy Taylor's to fifteen: Dr Goodwin's would make about twenty; Dr Owen's extend to twenty-eight—Baxter's, if printed in a uniform edition, would not be comprised in less than SIXTY VOLUMES! Several of his works have been translated into all the European languages. Of one of his works, ‘The Call to the Unconverted,’ 20,000 are said to have been sold in one year.

Describing the most prominent features of this remarkable man, Mr Orme observes—“I have no better or more appropriate term which I can employ than the word *unearthly*; and even that does not give a full view of all that was absent from, and all that belonged to his character as a Christian, a minister, and a divine. Among his contemporaries there were men of equal talents, of more amiable dispositions, and of greater learning; but there was no man in whom there appears to have been so little of earth, and so much of heaven; so small a portion of the alloy of humanity,—and so large a portion of all that is celestial. He felt scarcely any of the attraction of this world, but felt and manifested the most powerful affinity for the world to come.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Orme's Life.—Biog. Brit.

## John North, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1645.—DIED A. D. 1683.

OF the six sons of Dudley, Lord North, the eldest, succeeded to the title, and the greater part of no very large estate. The second son was Francis, afterwards Lord Keeper Guilford. The third son, Dudley, sought his fortunes abroad as a merchant. The fourth went to Cambridge, and rose in the church. The fifth son, Montagu, was a Levant merchant. The sixth and last was Roger, who succeeded in the law, was the faithful friend and companion of his brothers, and wrote the lives of them all. Dudley North, after his return to England, obtained a principal place in the customs, and was knighted. When James II. ascended the throne, he came into parliament, where he took a principal part in the debates. At the revolution he was left out of the commission of the customs, and retired into private life, in which he died, in London, in the year 1691.

The Hon. John North was born at London, in 1645. His reserved and studious temper, even in childhood, early marked him for the church. At the proper age he was sent to school at Bury, where he enjoyed the tuition of Dr Stephens, a celebrated cavalier pedagogue, "noted for high flights of poetry and criticism," but unfortunately, also, "a wet epicure, the common vice of bookish professions." In the year 1661, Mr North was sent to Cambridge, where he was entered a fellow-commoner, and afterwards a nobleman, of Jesus' college. Here he commenced that severe course of study which brought upon him a premature old age, and, in the meantime, encouraged that irritability of the nervous system, by which his whole subsequent life was tormented. "One would have expected," says his amiable biographer, "that a youth at the university, no freshman, nor mean scholar, should have got the better of being afraid in the dark; but it was not so with him, for when he was in bed alone he durst not trust his countenance above the clothes."

In 1666 he was admitted fellow of his college, and began to indulge himself in the warmest passion which animated him,—the love and possession of books. He appears to have directed his chief attention to the study of Greek, and so qualified himself to fill the chair of that language, to which he was afterwards elected. "Greek became almost vernacular to him, and he took no small pains to make himself master of the Hebrew language, and seldom failed carrying an Hebrew Bible (but pointed) to chapel with him." His relaxations from study were few and simple. Music was a favourite resource; and his morbid sensibilities found an innocent and amiable amusement in studying the habits and modes of the life of spiders. It appears, however, that he did not find himself quite comfortable in his college, for he resigned his fellowship of Jesus' college, and took up his abode in Trinity, of which Dr Barrow was then master.

Soon after he took orders, it fell to his lot to preach before the king (Charles II.) at Newmarket. He was not a little agitated at the prospect, but managed to acquit himself to the satisfaction of his royal au-

ditor. The Doctor appears to have had an extremely fastidious taste, and a morbid longing after perfection, in his own productions. Hence all his deep and long-continued researches came to nothing. The only evidence of his varied learning and intense application was a heap of notes. His papers were all, by his especial directions before his death, committed to the flames.

After Dr Barrow's death, Dr North was appointed to succeed him in the mastership of Trinity. The elevation added little to his personal comfort. He got involved in a squabble with the senior fellows, which, harassing his feeble and sensitive frame, hastened his death. He died in 1683, and was buried in the outward chapel, in order that, as he expressed it, the fellows "might trample upon him dead, as they had done living."

### Henry More, D.D.

BORN A. D. 1614.—DIED A. D. 1687.

THIS eminent divine and philosopher was born at Grantham in Lincolnshire, on the 12th of October, 1614. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Eton school, where he remained three years; he was then admitted of Christ's college, Cambridge. Here, as he informs us, "he plunged himself immediately over head and ears in philosophy, and applied himself to the works of Aristotle, Cardan, Julius Scaliger, and other eminent philosophers," all of which he had diligently read over before he took his bachelor's degree in 1635. He next betook himself to the Platonic writers and mystical divines, whose writings entirely captivated his fancy, and gave a tone to all his subsequent speculations.

In the year 1640, he commenced the composition of a singularly mystical poem, entitled 'The Song of the Soul.' In it he has attempted an exposition of the nature, attributes, and states of the soul, according to that system of Christianized Platonism which he had adopted. It is divided into four parts:—Psychozoia, or the Life of the Soul; Psychathanasia, or the Immortality of the Soul; Antipsychopannychia, or a Confutation of the Sleep of the Soul after Death; and Antimonopsychia, or a Confutation of the Unity of Souls. Southey has observed that, "amidst the uncouth allegory, and still more uncouth language of this strange series of poems, there are a few passages to be found of extreme beauty." The opening of the second part is a very favourable specimen of More's poetical genius:—

"Whatever man he be that dares to deem  
True poet's skill to spring of earthly race,  
I must him tell, that he doth misesteem  
Their strange estate, and eke himself disgrace  
By his rude ignorance. For there's no place  
For forced labour, or slow industry  
Of flagging wits, in that high fiery chace;  
So soon as of the muse they quick'ned be,  
At once they rise, and lively sing like lark in skie.

"Like to a meteor, whose materiall  
Is low unwieldy earth, base unctuous slime,

Whose inward hidden parts ethereall  
 Ly close upwrapt in that dull sluggish *fime*,—  
 Ly fast asleep, till at some fatall time  
 Great Phœbus' lamp has fir'd its inward spright,  
 And then even of itself on high doth climb;  
 That earst was dark becomes all eye, all sight,  
 Bright starre, that to the wise of future things gives light.

" Even so the weaker mind, that languid lies  
 Knit up in rags of dirt, dark, cold, and blind,  
 So soon that purer flame of love unties  
 Her clogging chains, and doth her spright upbind,  
 Shee sores aloft; for shee herself doth find  
 Well plum'd; so rais'd upon her spreaden wing,  
 She softly playes, and warbles in the wind,  
 And carols out her inward life and spring  
 Of overflowing joy, and of pure love doth sing."

More, in his dedication of his poems to his father, says that it was the hearing of Spenser's *Fairie Queen* read to him on winter-nights by his father, that "first turned his ears to poetry." He has imitated his master occasionally with considerable success; but after all, it is too evident that his genius was not essentially a poetical one. "He may have perceived the capabilities of his subject, but he wanted the animating touch to waken it into life and beauty. His zeal could not, like the indignation of Juvenal, supply the deficiencies of nature. His diction is copious, not select; his versification rugged, and incorrect in the extreme." Yet his design was, in this, as in every thing else which he wrote, lofty and good.

In 1639 he took his degree of M. A., and subsequently was chosen fellow of his college. He afterwards took the degree of D.D. He was of a remarkably meditative turn of mind, even in his childhood, as appears from various anecdotes recorded by himself and others; and the insatiable thirst of knowledge by which he was actuated, and especially the deep interest he felt on the subject of religion, induced him to devote himself to a life of study in the seclusion of his own college. Attempts were indeed made to decoy him into a bishopric: "his friends got him as far as Whitehall, in order to the kissing his majesty's hand for it; but as soon as he understood the matter, which it was then necessary to acquaint him with, and till then had been concealed from him, he could not by any means, or upon any account, be prevailed upon to stir a step further towards it." He is mentioned by Burnet, in conjunction with Cudworth, Whichcote, and others, as one of the founders of the Cambridge school of divines, known by the name of *Latitudinarians*, whose aim it was to restore the old connexion between religion and philosophy, and, by a new infusion of learning and active piety, to quicken the decaying energies of the church of England. He was also one of the earliest asserters of the Cartesian system, and a correspondent of Des Cartes himself. Burnet characterises him as "an open-hearted and sincere Christian philosopher;" and Hobbes is reported to have said, that "if his own philosophy was not true, he knew none that he should sooner like than More's of Cambridge."

His principal prose works are the '*Mystery of Godliness*,' the '*Mystery of Iniquity*,' and his '*Philosophical Collections*.' Addison styles his '*Enchiridion Ethicum*' an admirable system of ethics; but



the most popular of his pieces is his 'Divine Dialogues' on the Attributes and Providence of God. His works were collected by himself in three volumes folio, 1679. He died in 1687.

### Ralph Cudworth, D. D.

BORN A. D. 1617.—DIED A. D. 1688.

RALPH CUDWORTH was the son of a pious and learned divine of the church of England, and was born at Aller in Somersetshire, in the year 1617. His father's death left him, at a very early age, without an instructor, and apparently beclouded his prospects in life; but on his mother's second marriage, the place of a parent was amply supplied by his father-in-law, Dr Stoughton, to whom he was indebted for a most careful education. In 1630 he was admitted a pensioner of Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he pursued his studies with extraordinary diligence, and, in 1639, obtained the degree of Master of Arts with great applause. He was soon after chosen a fellow of the college, and became one of the tutors, in which capacity he rose to such eminence as to have had at one time the almost unprecedented number of twenty-eight pupils under his care. After remaining in the college for some time, he was presented to the rectory of North Cadbury, in Somersetshire, worth at that time about £300 a year. The leisure which he thus obtained was not spent after the manner of many, in looking carefully after the emoluments of his office, and in diligently scraping together every fraction of tithe, but in the prosecution of those profound researches and reflections which had already begun to occupy his mind, and afterwards produced such an abundant harvest. In 1644 he published a discourse, which was received with great applause, and has obtained the praise of Bochart, Selden, and Warburton, concerning the true nature of the Lord's Supper, and in the same year appeared his "Union of Christ with the Church a Shadow." About this period he took the degree of B. D. A year or two previously, Hobbes's 'De Cive,' the first work in which he broached his peculiar opinions, had been privately circulated in Paris, and from the theses which Cudworth maintained on taking his degree, it appears probable that his attention had been already drawn to the reappearance in modern times of these antiquated dogmas, in the eradication of which his after-life was spent. The theses were, 1. *Dantur boni et mali rationes æternæ et indispensabile;*—2. *Dantur substantiæ incorporeæ sua natura immortales.* Shortly after taking his degree, he was appointed master of Clare-hall, Cambridge, in the room of Dr Parke, who was ejected by the parliamentary visitors, and, in 1645, he was unanimously elected Regius professor of Hebrew. To what act of his life he owed the favour of the parliament must remain doubtful, since it does not appear that he sided with either of the two great parties—which then convulsed the empire—more decidedly than to receive from the Roundheads the offices tendered for his acceptance. Few men took less interest in the politics of the day than Cudworth. While events were taking place, the most important which had occurred in English history, and which were destined to exercise no small influence over the fortunes of civil-

ized Europe, the lonely student, in the recesses of his academic retirement, was quaffing deep draughts from the most hidden fountains of ancient lore, or was borne away on the strong wing of contemplation from the stirring acts of modern times to the faintly recorded creeds and opinions of the world's primitive inhabitants. It is probable, however, that Cudworth obtained the favour of the parliament from his known hatred of persecution, and from his already immense learning: for the Roundheads ever showed themselves desirous of encouraging literature in any way not absolutely injurious to their political interests. From whatever cause his promotion arose, he determined from this time to abandon altogether the stated duties of the ministry, and to devote himself entirely to academical studies and employments. In 1647 he preached a sermon before the house of commons, which he subsequently published, and for which, at the time, he received the thanks of the house. In 1651 he was created a doctor in divinity. About this period he was compelled by want of money to leave Cambridge. His friends, and indeed the university in general, viewed his secession from them with great consternation, and at length succeeded in recalling him, by obtaining for him the mastership of Christ's college, which he held during the whole of his subsequent life. In 1659 he was appointed one of a committee to consult concerning a revision of the English translation of the Bible. The committee met several times at the house of Whitelocke, who has given us a brief account of their proceedings; but the dissolution of the parliament prevented the execution of their design. He appears to have had some intention of publishing a number of Latin discourses in defence of Christianity against Judaism; but want of encouragement, or some other cause, changed his purpose. They are still extant in manuscript, and it may be hoped that some future age, less superficial and less wise in its own conceit, will witness their publication, especially as they drew forth no undistinguished praise from no undistinguished man,—Dr Henry More.

At the restoration, Cudworth wrote a congratulatory ode to his new sovereign, but neither his flattery nor his talents obtained for him any respect in those evil days. In that "paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds," the detestable doctrines of Hobbism had taken deep root, and, like rank weeds in an uncultivated soil, flourished luxuriantly. Religion and its inseparable concomitant liberty, were hated with a good and a perfect hatred. It cannot therefore be a matter of surprise, that a man of Cudworth's profound learning and lofty character should have met with all possible opposition from the superficial wits and sensualized sceptics, who were buzzing through the little hour of their contemptible existence in the sun-shine of court-favour. His learning was the appropriate object of their ridicule, and his piety, of their deadliest aversion. Accordingly, we find that his great work, "The true Intellectual System of the Universe," which was published in 1678, was satirized and attacked with the utmost of their puny strength, by the dissolute courtiers. The attempt of the knight of La Mancha to overthrow the windmills, was not more hopeless. It will scarcely be believed, however, that on account of this work, the express object of which was to overthrow atheism, Cudworth was accused of entertaining atheistic opinions. It was a wise saying, that the extremes of error meet. While the bigots of infidelity assailed him on the one hand, the

bigots in religion assailed him on the other. Turner, in his discourses on the Messiah, styles him a Socinian or Deist, at the least, if not an Atheist; and Dryden has said, "Cudworth has raised such strong objections against the being of a God and providence, that it is thought by many he has not answered them,"—"the common fate," adds Lord Shaftesbury, "of all who dare to appear fair authors."

Soon after the publication of his 'Intellectual System,' Cudworth was installed a prebendary of Gloucester. His life from this period presents little of interest. It was spent, as it had been begun, in the acquisition of knowledge. He expired on the 26th of June, 1688, in the 71st year of his age, and was interred in the chapel of Christ college. It is a pleasing circumstance that his daughter, Lady Masham, after watching the declining footsteps of her illustrious father, had the honour of nursing in his dying hours the immortal Locke, who expired in her house.

Cudworth is one of those writers who possess a very high reputation among the few who have studied him, and scarcely any reputation whatever among the many. To the large majority of the reading public his name must be barely known. It does not redound much to the credit of English literati, that a man who raised our national character so high in the opinion of the continental philosophers, should have so little honour in his own country. He was one of that lofty, though selectly-remembered school of English philosophers, who, issuing forth from the academic shades of our southern universities, set themselves diligently to oppose both the persecuting bigotry of the high church party, and the fanatical excesses of the Millenarians, and Fifth-monarchy men. "They," says Bishop Burnet, in his 'History of his own Times,' "and those who were formed under them, studied to examine farther into the nature of things than had been done formerly. They declared against superstition on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other. They loved the constitution of the church and the liturgy, and could well live under them, but they did not think it unlawful to live under another form. They wished that things might have been carried with more moderation, and they continued to keep a good correspondence with those who had differed from them in opinion, and they allowed a great freedom both in philosophy and divinity. Hence they were called Latitudinarians." Of this school, Jeremy Taylor, Dr Thomas Burnet, Dr Henry More, and Cudworth, were the heads. All of them were deeply imbued with the spirit of their great master Plato, and indulged in fair dreams of bliss yet in store for the world, when man should attain to that real happiness which flows from the purification and elevation of his moral and intellectual nature by reason and religion. There was never a more attractive sect of philosophers than this. The lofty talent of those who composed it—their habits of deep contemplation—their boundless learning—the elevation of the subjects on which they wrote, and of what they wrote, seemed rather the attributes of a band of ancient sages, than of modern speculators. Sir James Mackintosh,<sup>1</sup> has likened Cudworth's great work to the production of a later Platonist, and the same simile applies to the writings of all. The 'Telluris theoria sacra' of Burnet,—the 'Enchiridion

<sup>1</sup> Dissertation Second. Encycl. Brit. New Ed.

Ethicum' of More, and the 'Intellectual System' of Cudworth, are works of the same genus and character of mind.

Cudworth's original intention was merely to write a treatise upon liberty and necessity, showing that necessity, upon whatever grounds and principles maintained, will serve the design of atheism, and undermine Christianity and all religion. He found, however, that the Necessarians or Fatalists, were divided into three classes. Of these parties, one maintained that senseless matter necessarily moved, was the only original and principle of the universe;—another, that God, by his immediate influence, determined all actions, so making them necessary; while a third party acknowledging that the Deity permitted other beings than himself to act voluntarily, denied that man possessed any such liberty as to make him capable of praise or dispraise. In order to overthrow these opinions, he set about to prove the three following propositions: 1. That one omnipotent intellectual power presides over the universe. 2. That this power being essentially good and just, there is something of its own nature eternally just and good. 3. That man has so much power over his actions as to be accountable for them. With these three propositions, he proposed to erect a true intellectual<sup>2</sup> system of the universe, which might supersede at once the ancient atheism of Democritus and Epicurus, and the modern of Hobbes<sup>3</sup> and Gassendi. The first part only of this gigantic undertaking was completed, nor shall we be so much surprised as grieved at our loss, when we contemplate the indefatigable toil which has accumulated in every page learning almost sufficient to furnish amply the brain of a modern scholar. The first part of his work is however complete in itself, and a more triumphant refutation of atheism could not be desired.

To make every thing comprehensible, he gives us in the first book a clear and full account of the atomic philosophy (called by Epicurus, the Physiological Fate) on which the atheistic system of Democritus was founded. The atomic philosophy, rests on the axiom that no real entity does of itself come from nothing or go to nothing. Reflecting on this, the ancients were led to conclude that the forms and qualities of bodies, so long believed to be things actually existent in themselves, were nothing more than different modifications of the small particles of which bodies are composed, and that feelings and ideas, such as those of light, colour, hardness, beauty, &c. were not things existent in matter itself, but were generated by modifications of matter in sentient minds. Cudworth proves undeniably that this famous system was not the invention, perhaps we should say the discovery, of Democritus, and Leucippus, to whom it has frequently been ascribed, but of much earlier philosophers, and not improbably of the Phœnician Mochus or Mochus, whom he conceives to be identical with the Jewish lawgiver, Moses. It is certain that the originators of this doctrine and its early supporters believed, and deduced as a necessary sequence from their system, the existence of incorporeal substance, i. e. of an immaterial and sentient principle—the immortality of this principle—and its presidency over matter; and that the atheism of which it was for so

<sup>2</sup> The word *intellectual* is employed to distinguish his system from the mere corporeal systems; such as those of Tycho Brahe, or Copernicus.

<sup>3</sup> Hobbes's system was not directly atheistical, but it unquestionably made atheism necessary.

many ages the vehicle, was subsequently engrafted on it by Democritus and his followers. Democritus admitting that nothing could spring of itself from nothing, and finding it maintained by the atomic philosophy, that there is in body no intellectual or self-moving power, but that it is altogether inert and passive, detached from the system the doctrine of incorporeal existence; and adding to it his own notion, that there is nothing in the world but body, thus "begat," says Cudworth, "a certain mongrel and spurious philosophy, atheistically-atomical, or atomically-atheistical." Cudworth next proceeds to state the reasons adduced by Democritus and his followers, both ancient and modern, in support of their opinions. He then gives an account of three other forms of atheism, which he deems it necessary to demolish,—the Hylo-zoick, the Anaximandrian, and what he terms the Pseudo-Zenonian, better known perhaps as the Stratonical. The Hylozoists hold that there is nothing in existence save matter, but that every particle of matter has life essentially belonging to it. By means of this life, each atom has the capability, though without any previous intention of forming itself artificially and methodically into combinations with those most suited to its nature, and of thereby gradually improving into sense, self-enjoyment, thought, and reason in animals. It is evident that, by this theory, the necessity of a Deity or of any incorporeal substance is altogether precluded. The Anaximandrian atheism was still more irrational than the Hylozoick, since it maintained that matter, devoid altogether of understanding and life, is the first principle of all things, and that infinite worlds are thus generated and corrupted. Anaximander affirmed, says Eusebius, "that infinite matter is the only cause of the generation and corruption of all things, and that the heavens and infinite worlds were made out of it by way of secretion or segregation. Also, that those generative principles of heat and cold, (*γενεαι θεμελιαι τε φλογος σφαιραι,*) that were contained in it from eternity, being segregated when this world was made, a certain sphere of flame or fire did first arise and encompass the air which surrounds this earth, (as a bark doth a tree) which being afterwards broken and divided into smaller spherical pieces, constituted the sun and moon, and all the stars." Anaximander's account of the origin of men and animals is curious, as showing to what absurdities the love of hypothesis may lead. He thought that animals were generated in moisture, and were encompassed about for a certain time with a rough thorny bark, which at length cracking, they issued forth; and that men were subsequently generated in the bellies of other animals, inasmuch as man being weak, requires nourishment for a much longer time than the brutes. According to Plutarch, he assigned to fishes the honour of having nurtured the future lords of creation. The fourth form of atheism, supposes the existence of a certain plastic, methodical, and artificial nature, altogether devoid of sense and conscious understanding, which presides over the world, and disposes every thing in that order and regularity which we behold around us. It is obvious that these four forms of atheism, in addition to the prodigious absurdity by which they are all characterized, are utterly inconsistent one with another. To use Cudworth's quaint language, "Atheism is a certain strange kind of monster with four heads, that are all of them perpetually biting, tearing, and devouring one another."

Cudworth having thus made every thing plain and certain, proceeds

to canvass and overthrow the arguments of his opponents. It would be impossible to give within our limits any outline of his reasoning, which occupies nearly four-fifths of a huge folio volume, and as impossible to convey any idea of the gigantic learning with which he illustrates every branch of his subject. The reasoning is always ingenious and decisive—oftentimes most subtle. There is not a finer specimen in any polemical writings of sound logical ratiocination, though now and then burdened with quotations, even to clumsiness. Instead of avoiding any difficult point, as a skilful tactician might have done, or of intrenching himself behind the broad bulwarks of Christianity, and there acting on the defensive, he rushes forward to attack the atheist in what he had hitherto believed to be his vantage-ground of human learning, and seldom or never fails to crush him beneath the weight of his ponderous erudition. It is almost amusing to witness the calmness with which he states the arguments of the adversary in their very strongest light, neither adding nor subtracting a particle from their force—not even making a single comment which can in any way depreciate their value; and then, when it appears as if he had unwittingly raised up against himself an edifice which he would ultimately find too strong to be overthrown, the cruel coolness with which he gives notice that he is about to make the attack, and the regularity with which he advances, until finally he brings his heavy artillery to bear full on his opponents, and batters down every wall and buttress, with as much ease and as effectually as the roc in the Arabian tale demolished the bark of our ancient friend, Sinbad the sailor. His own apology for stating the atheistic arguments so clearly, is well worthy of quotation. “We are much,” says he, “of this opinion, that a plain and naked representation of its (atheism’s) dark mysteries and profundities will be a great part of its confutation; at least we doubt not but it will be made to appear that though this monster, big-swoln with a puffy show of wisdom, strutt and talk so gigantically, and march with such a kind of stately philosophic grandeur, yet it is indeed but like the giant Orgoglio in our English poet, a mere empty bladder blown up with vain conceit; an empusa, phantasm, or spectre, the offspring of night and darkness, nonsense and contradiction.”

The most interesting part of Cudworth’s answer to the atheists, is his elaborate dissertation on the pagan polytheism, which he enters into in reply to the argument brought against the oneness of the Deity, from the almost universal belief of the ancients in a multiplicity of gods. It does not, however, appear to have been the creed of the enlightened pagans at least, that there had existed from eternity, more than one independent, uncreated, and necessarily existent being. It is, too, well worthy of notice, that even the most illiterate pagans believed in the generation of gods, and in nearly all the ancient theogonies we may trace the derivation of their deities from one great original. The fact is, that all ancient religions had their exoteric and esoteric articles of faith, and in various instances we can trace almost as marked a difference between the exoteric creed, that of the vulgar, and the esoteric, that of the initiated, as exists between the brutal faith of the Tartars and the Christian religion. The latter was much more pure and intellectual;—in all probability its grand principle was the recognition of one supreme being. Thus while the Persians were worship-

ping, as gods, the sun and the hosts of heaven, with an adoration which had more in it of the sublime than commonly appertains to unrevealed religions, Zoroaster and the Magi looked upon these gods of the vulgar only as the types and images of the 'hidden God,' the unseen Mithras—father and maker of all things. Over the whole field of inquiry opened up by this interesting question, Cudworth proceeds with unabated learning. The reader will find the most curious and valuable information levied from every possible source, and will often be struck with the ingenuity and powerful mind displayed in disentangling the thread of sophistry, or in explaining those mysterious allegories which seemed rather the visions of the poet than religious traditions. The glowing fictions of the Grecian mythology,—the shadowy outlines of ancient religions so dimly seen through the obscurity of ages, that they almost seem to be the relics of a pre-Adamite race,—the Chaldaic oracles, and the Orphic Cabala, are all made the subjects of his piercing investigation.

Perhaps the only fault in the True Intellectual System is the heedless and mischievous introduction of a plastic nature. This plastic nature was a sort of inferior and subordinate instrument which executed that part of God's providence which relates to the regular and orderly motion of matter. It was an inward principle, a vital and incorporeal energy resident in matter, yet not having the power of acting electively, or with discretion. Bayle, in his '*Continuation des pensées diverses sur les Comètes*,' observes, that "the atheists are very much perplexed how to account for the formation of animals, which they ascribed to a cause which was not conscious of what it did, and yet followed a regular order without knowing according to what laws it went to work. But Dr Cudworth's plastic nature and Dr Grew's vital energy are exactly in the same case, and thus they took away the whole of their objection against atheism." Bayle's reasoning is obvious: if God could create such a plastic power, then it might exist; and if it might exist, why not necessarily and of itself? Le Clerc, who had already given, in his '*Bibliothèque Choisie*,' large extracts from Cudworth, replied to Bayle, and endeavoured to show that his reasoning was fallacious, because this plastic nature was only an instrumental cause in the hands of God, and required an intelligent cause to create it or to set it in motion. To this Bayle answered, that if a plastic nature can produce plants and animals without having the least idea of what it is doing, then, in the same way, the plastic power itself might have been produced by a cause, not having any idea of what it was doing. To this he added, that if it were asserted that God created nature with this faculty, then it might be objected that it was just as easy for a being to perform a scheme of which no one has any notion at all, as it is for a being to perform a scheme of which it has itself no idea, though some other being has.\* Le Clerc replied, that the plastic nature of Cudworth was not a mere passive instrument, and that the atheists could not retort the argument, because God is the author

\* This reasoning evidently settled the question against Dr Cudworth's plastic nature; for if excellent works can be produced, showing every symptom of order and method, without any idea or knowledge of doing so, then assuredly it is possible that the world may have been so produced,—the very thing which the atheists were desirous of establishing.

of the order and regularity with which the plastic natures act. This controversy was carried on to a much greater length, but Bayle continued throughout to maintain that decided superiority which he possesses in the short abstract we have given.

We have spent so much time in giving an account of the Intellectual System, as to have left us little or none for his remaining works; we must not, however, omit to recommend most earnestly, to the attention of the reader, his sermon in 1647 before the house of commons. Those who have heard of his great work only as a collection of the dry bones of forgotten tongues, will be surprised to find in this sermon a complete absence of all erudition,—a plainness, and simplicity, and fervour, and a vein of poetical imagery not unlike the glorious effusions of Jeremy Taylor.

In addition to the works before enumerated, there was published, after his death, 'A Treatise on Eternal and Immutable Morality' from his pen. Its object was to disprove the opinion, that right and wrong were not real, but imaginary and arbitrary. Though probably intended only as an introduction to an ethical treatise, it is very valuable as a complete and masterly refutation of this ancient dogma of Protagoras, which had been revived by Hobbes in modern times with considerable applause. The British museum contains many, and it is said, very valuable manuscripts in Cudworth's writing, which have never yet seen the light.

The 'Intellectual System' was published in one volume, folio, at London, 1678, and in 2 vols. 4to, in 1743, with the majority of his smaller works, and a life by Dr Birch. It was also translated into Latin by Mosheim, and published at Jena, in 2 vols. folio, 1733, and reprinted at Leyden in 1773, 2 vols. 4to.—'The Eternal and Immutable Morality' was published by Chandler, bishop of Durham, in 1733, 8vo. His sermons and some of his smaller tracts have been several times reprinted. The best of them—that preached before the house of commons—was printed in 1647, 4to; in 1814, 8vo; and in a neat little pocket volume in 1831, by T. Hodgson, Liverpool.

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### III.—LITERARY SERIES.

#### **Sir Thomas Bodley.**

DIED A. D. 1612.

THIS gentleman, who has endeared his name to posterity, by founding the noble library at Oxford, called after him, 'The Bodleian library,' was the son of an eminent merchant at Exeter, who having early embraced the reformed religion, and being menaced with persecution on that account, fled with his son to Geneva, and remained there during the turbulent reign of Queen Mary.

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, they returned home with the other protestant exiles; and young Bodley, having made consider-



able progress at Geneva in divinity and the learned languages, was sent by his father to Magdalen college, Oxford. In 1563, he took his degree of master of arts; in 1563, he obtained a fellowship in Merton college; in 1569, he was elected one of the proctors of the university; and, for a considerable time during a vacancy, he supplied the place of university-orator. His friends now having in view some preferment for him about the court, in 1576, he went abroad to make the tour of Europe, and perfect himself in the modern languages. He continued about four years on the continent, and, upon his return he applied himself to the study of history and politics to qualify himself for public employment.

He was very soon called upon to exert his talents in stations of great dignity and importance. From gentleman-usher to Queen Elizabeth, he rose to be her majesty's ambassador to the courts of France and Denmark; and her representative in the council of state of the United Provinces, in 1588. He managed the queen's affairs so much to the satisfaction of the ministry at home, that he was continued in this high office till 1597, when all the public negotiations with the states being successfully terminated, he was recalled. But, instead of meeting with that reward for his eminent services which he had a right to expect, he found his own interest declining with that of his patron, the earl of Essex, and, in a fit of disgust, retired from court, and all public business; and, though afterwards much solicited, he never would accept of any new office under government, but King James, on his accession, conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

To this retirement from the bustle of public life, the university of Oxford most probably stands indebted for the Bodleian library, justly esteemed one of the noblest in the world. The first step Sir Thomas Bodley took in this affair, was to write a letter to Dr Ravis, the vice-chancellor of the university, offering to rebuild the decayed fabric of the public library, to improve and augment the scanty collection of books contained in it, and to vest an annual income in the hands of the heads of the university, for the purchasing of books, and for the salaries of such officers as they should think it necessary to appoint. A suitable answer being returned, and this generous offer gratefully accepted, Sir Thomas immediately ordered the old building to be pulled down, and a new one erected at his own expense, which was completed in about two years. He then added to the old a new collection of the most valuable books then extant, which he ordered to be purchased in foreign countries; and having thus set the example, the nobility, the bishops, and several private gentlemen, made such considerable benefactions in books, that the room was not large enough to contain them. Upon which Sir Thomas offered to make considerable additions to the building. On the 19th of July 1610, he laid the first stone of a new foundation, being accompanied by the vice-chancellor, doctors, masters of arts, &c. Sir Thomas Bodley did not live to see this building completed; but he had the satisfaction to know that it was intended as soon as that was finished to enlarge the plan of the whole edifice, and in the end to form a regular quadrangle; and as he knew his own fortune was inadequate to this great work, he made use of his interest with several persons of rank and fortune, and engaged them to make large presents to the university to forward this undertaking, to which

he bequeathed his whole estate. He likewise drew up some excellent statutes for the regulation of the library, which seems to have been the last act of his life. He died on the 28th of January, 1612, and was buried in the chapel of Merton college, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory; his statue was likewise put in the library, at the expense of the earl of Dorset, when chancellor of the university.

### Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher.

FLO. A. D. 1612.

THESE bright ornaments of our dramatic literature were so indissolubly united during life, in a fellowship dear to every lover of the muses, and their immortal strains have so intertwined their names in the remembrance of posterity, that it would be a violation of good taste and good feeling were we to separate them. Very little is known concerning them, and very few memorials of them have been handed down, save those matchless dramas which have made their literary partnership more celebrated, and far more valuable to mankind, than the martial friendships of the Theseus and Pirithous, and Castor and Pollux, of antiquity.

Francis Beaumont was descended from an ancient and respectable family of that name in Leicestershire. His grandfather, John Beaumont, had been master of the rolls, and his father, Francis, one of the judges of the court of common pleas. He was born in the year 1585, and having completed his education at Cambridge, was entered a student of the Inner Temple. It does not appear that he made any great progress in his legal studies, nor indeed is it possible that he could have done so, since it was here that he met with Fletcher, and the two embryo lawyers, being both possessed of a competency already, flung aside all anticipations of wigs and silk gowns for the more agreeable pastime of enlivening the town with their exquisite dramas, and of engaging at the Mermaid in those celebrated 'wit combats' which called forth, in addition to the wit and fancy of our two authors, all the learning of Selden, the quaint conceits of Donne, the rich humour of Ben Jonson, and the genius of Shakspeare. In a poetical epistle to Ben Jonson, Beaumont writes,

"What things have we seen  
Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been  
So nimble, and so full of subtle flame,  
As if that every one from whence they came  
Had meant to put his whole wit in a jest,  
And had resolved to live a fool the rest  
Of his dull life."

He died on the 15th of March, 1615, in the 30th year of his age, leaving behind him one daughter, who, it is said, was living in Leicestershire in the year 1700.

John Fletcher was the son of Dr Fletcher, bishop of Bristol, and afterwards bishop of London, and was born in the year 1577. After studying at Cambridge, where he made great proficiency, and was

esteemed an excellent scholar, he was entered of the Inner Temple, being destined by his parents for the bar. Their wishes do not appear to have been accomplished, since the young poet found it difficult to bend his attention to musty parchments and tedious precedents, and meeting an associate of the same disposition in Beaumont, the two committed the deadly sin of writing poetry, which, of course, incapacitated them for the legal profession. A pleasant story is told of their having been once at a tavern together, where they were concerting the rough draft of a tragedy, and assigning to each the different parts he was to write: "I'll undertake to kill the king," said Fletcher. These treasonable words were overheard by the waiter, who immediately caused them to be apprehended, but, of course, on their giving an explanation, the affair ended in a jest. Fletcher was carried off by the plague which ravaged London in the year 1625, being then in the 49th year of his age.

It is almost impossible to enter into any just criticisms of the writings of these illustrious men within the limits allotted to us. They have left behind them upwards of fifty dramas of such unequal merit that almost every one would demand a separate examination; and so little are they known to modern readers, that we should seem to be guilty of extravagance were we to bestow on their productions any adequate commendations, unless we produced very ample extracts to justify our praise. We cannot now apportion out to each his share in the different plays which they wrote in conjunction, nor indeed have we any account on which reliance can be placed of the different qualities of mind by which each was distinguished. The general opinion seems to be that Beaumont was the deeper scholar and more acute critic, while Fletcher had the more brilliant wit and loftier genius. "He," (Fletcher) says old Fuller, in his quaint and amusing style, "and F. Beaumont, Esq. like Castor and Pollux, most happy when in conjunction, raised the English stage to equal the Athenian and Roman theatre; Beaumont bringing the ballast of judgment, and Fletcher the sail of phantasie; both compounding a poet to admiration." Langbaine bears the same testimony. "Beaumont was master of a good wit and a better judgment; he so admirably well understood the art of the stage, that even Jonson himself thought it no disparagement to submit his writings to his correction." "Mr Fletcher's wit was equal to Mr Beaumont's judgment, and was so luxurious, that, like superfluous branches, it was frequently pruned by his judicious partner." This statement, though true in the main, must be received with some limitations, since, on the one hand, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *Philaster*, and *the King and No King*, in which Beaumont is generally allowed to have had the chief hand, exhibit more fancy, more of the qualities by which Fletcher was distinguished, than the majority of the other plays which they are known to have written in conjunction; while, on the other hand, those written by Fletcher alone, are, on the whole, equal in point of taste and judgment to most of those in which Beaumont assisted him. It is nevertheless to be noticed, that in the *Maid's Tragedy*, *King and No King*, and *Philaster*, the characters are more justly conceived and more consistent, the plot is less defective, the inequalities not so marked, and the general impression left on the mind more permanent, than in any other of their plays; and that the most light, airy, and fancy-teeming

of their dramas, the *Faithful Shepherdess*, was the production of Fletcher alone. It is time, however, that we should leave this topic, on which, after all, it is not likely that we shall attain to any absolute certainty, and point out those peculiar features in the writings of our authors which have attracted the admiration of so many ages.

The plays written before Beaumont's death are more regular in their construction, and more obedient to the laws of the drama, than those of Shakspeare, or any other of the dramatists of the day, with the exception of 'rare Ben Jonson's.' To this regularity of plot, they added great skill in painting to the life the manners of gentlemen in those times. Enabled as they were by birth and fortune to associate with young men of rank and fashion, they have succeeded admirably in hitting off the wild reckless spirit, the debauched manners, the fantastic humours, and the quickness of repartee, which distinguished the dissipated gallants of Elizabeth's reign. Their dialogue in comedy is always spirited, and often witty; their scenes bustling and amusing; and their characters, on the whole, well supported, though occasionally, especially in Fletcher's plays, they undergo strange metamorphoses. Thus, for instance, in the *Scornful Lady*, Morecraft, a miser, all on a sudden becomes a prodigal, for the not very intelligible reason of his having been cheated by a young fellow who had borrowed money from him. There are many, however, of a different stamp, though it is observable that they excel much more in painting women than men. Shakspeare has few portraits so exquisitely beautiful as those of *Aspasia* and *Bellario*, and not many more comic than those of *Bessus* and the little French Lawyer. Their grand excellencies are not so much the depicting of character, as a rich vein of wit—a native elegance of thought and expression, and a wandering romantic fancy, delightful even in its wildest moods. They do not possess the profound knowledge of human nature which alone would have made Shakspeare immortal. They cannot paint with the brush of a master the gradual progress of a mind from confidence to suspicion,—from suspicion to jealousy,—and from jealousy to madness; or the fearful workings of a soul racked between the ardent desire of an object which seems almost within the grasp, and the dread and abhorrence of the path of crime by which that object must be attained. Their characters are not so much beings of lofty intellect as of deep passion; and these passions are portrayed not in their rise and gradual progress, but in their highest mood. To this defect must be added their great inequality. The very richest gems of their wit and fancy are not unfrequently set in caskets so vile, that the very clumsiest artist might have been ashamed to own himself the maker of them. Instead of writing with care and pains, as those who were anxious to please their auditors or readers, and "to do something such that after ages should not willingly let it die," they seem to have followed the whim of the moment, and to have dashed forward with a wild recklessness, which spurned alike the laws of the drama, the example of the best models, and the approbation of their hearers. Nor is it unnatural that such should be the character of compositions written, not for profit, but for pleasure, by young men of ample fortune and in the very heyday of youth, to whom the occupation of a playwright might seem rather a degradation than an honour; when Ben Jonson the bricklayer was their competitor, and the unedu-

ated Will Shakspeare their undoubted superior. There is, however, a sterling wit in their dialogues—a vigorous and lusty manhood in their portraits—a stirring warmth and action in their scenes—and a strength and beauty in the buoyant pinions on which they soar aloft into the realms of fancy, which will bear them up in spite of these defects, and will insure them through all ages two of the most sacred niches in the temple of English poetry. The following brief passage is addressed by one of Philaster's friends to the king, who is threatening to have Philaster beheaded. It is not nearly so beautiful as many which might have been selected, but its length is convenient:—

“ King, you may be deceived yet:  
 The head you aim at cost more setting on  
 Than to be lost so lightly: if it must off,  
 Like a wild overflow that swoops before him  
 A golden stack, and with it shakes down bridges,  
 Cracks the strong hearts of pines, whose cable roots  
 Hold out a thousand storms, a thousand thunders,  
 And, so made mightier, takes whole villages  
 Upon his back, and in that heat of pride  
 Charges strong towns, towers, castles, palaces,  
 And lays them desolate; so shall thy head, (*to Philaster*)  
 Thy noble head, bring the lives of thousands  
 That must bleed with thee, like a sacrifice  
 In thy red ruins.”

*Philaster, Act V. Scene 1.*

There are two plays included in the common editions of Beaumont and Fletcher, which, from their great merit, demand a separate notice; we mean *The Faithful Shepherdess* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. The former, which was the production of Fletcher alone, is a pastoral drama, of which it may safely be said, that we have nothing in the language at once so purely pastoral and so exquisitely poetical. The *Comus* was undoubtedly copied from it, and although Milton may have surpassed the original in stately and majestic poetry, it is beyond a question, that Fletcher, besides the merit of priority, is more redolent of life and nature. Were it not defiled by indelicacy, *The Faithful Shepherdess* would be faultless. With a taste not less execrable than that which Dryden exhibited when he profaned the fairy-land of *Miranda* with his gross obscenities, Fletcher has polluted the primeval simplicity and virgin innocence of the Eden he had created, by the disgusting debaucheries of the sullen Shepherd and the wanton Cloe. With this exception, nothing can be more faultless, or more abundant in beauty.

The other drama which we mentioned, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, was formerly said to be the joint production of Fletcher and Shakspeare, but the prevalent opinion in modern times seems to be that Shakspeare had no connection with it. We see not, for our own parts, on what this disbelief is grounded. It is certain that Fletcher had some ally, who could not be Beaumont, for the play was written after Beaumont's death; and since the title page of the first edition of the play calls Shakspeare and Fletcher the authors—since the truth of this statement was never questioned until modern times, although many of Shakspeare's friends were living when the play was published—since all the old critics mention Shakspeare as one of the writers of it—and more than

all, since the internal evidence fully bears out the tradition, we think the genuineness of it can scarcely be questioned.<sup>1</sup> If Shakspeare did not assist Fletcher, who then did? None of the plays which Fletcher alone wrote are composed in the same style, or exhibit the same lofty imagination, and if there were any other dramatist save Shakspeare, who could attain to such a height of excellence, he has certainly handed down none of his compositions to posterity. If Shakspeare did not write part of it, all we can say is, that his imitators went very near to rival himself. Our readers will excuse us for extracting the following simile:—

<i>Emilia.</i>	Of all flowers
Methinks a rose is best.	
<i>Servant.</i>	Why, gentle madam?
<i>Emilia.</i>	It is the very emblem of a maid :
For when the west wind courts her gently,	
How modestly she blows, and paints the sun	
With her chaste blushes ! when the north comes near her,	
Rude and impatient, then, like chastity,	
She locks her beauties in her bud again,	
And leaves him to base briars.	

In conclusion, we can only say, that he who has not perused Beaumont and Fletcher, can have no complete idea of the riches of English poetry ; and that they are the only English dramatists whose distance from Shakspeare, in his more peculiar excellencies, is not so immense as to make the descent painful.

Their works were printed in 10 vols. 8vo. in 1751, with the notes of Seward and others ; in 10 vols. 8vo. 1778, edited by Colman ; in 10 vols. 8vo. London, 1780, edited by Theobald ; and at Edinburgh, in 12 vols. 8vo. in 1812, edited by Weber.

The following plays were undoubtedly the joint composition of Beaumont and Fletcher. *Philaster*, *The Maid's Tragedy*, *The King and No King*, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *Cupid's Revenge*, *The Coxcomb*, *The Captain*, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, and *The Scornful Lady*.

## Shakspeare.

BORN A. D. 1564.—DIED A. D. 1616.

WE are informed by the most recent biographer of our mighty dramatist, that a family variously named Shaxper, Shakespere, Shakspeare, and Shakspeare, was spread over the woodland part of Warwickshire in the 16th century. They were chiefly devoted to trade and agriculture, and had little or no connexion with the upper ranks of society. The immediate ancestor of him whose name has filled the earth far beyond that of any titled or untitled contemporary, was John Shakspeare, originally a glover, subsequently a butcher, and finally a

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of notice, that Langbaine says decidedly that Shakspeare was one of the authors. The inquiry is a very interesting one, but our limits prevent us from pursuing it at length.

dealer in wool in the town of Stratford,<sup>1</sup> where he attained the supreme honours of the borough by being elected to the office of high-bailiff in 1568. It would appear, however, that whatever respectability the corporation of Stratford possessed in their own eyes and that of their fellow-burgesses, their claims to erudition were very humble: for out of nineteen members of that body whose signatures are attached to a document bearing date 1564, only seven could write their names, and among the twelve who affixed their mark only, was John Shakspeare.<sup>2</sup> The original position of the bard of Avon was little favourable certainly to the developement of mental powers. In 1574 his father's affairs began to fall into decay, and in 1585-6 a distress having been issued against his goods, it was returned unexecuted with this notification, "*Joh'es Shackspere nihil habet unde distr. potest levare.*" The ex-bailiff of Stratford died in 1601. He had married Mary, the youngest daughter of Robert Arden of Wilmecote in Warwickshire, by whom he had eight children: Jone, Margaret, William, Gilbert, Jone, Ann, Richard, and Edmund. Of this family some died in infancy; Edmund embraced the calling of an actor, and died in 1607; Jone, the second daughter of that name, married William Hart, a hatter in Stratford, whose descendants still exist in that town.

William Shakspeare was born at Stratford-upon-Avon, on the 23d of April, 1564,—“a fact,” says Skottowe, “which comprises the whole of the poet's history till he is found, ‘for some time,’ at the free grammar-school of his native town, where he doubtless acquired the Latin, ‘the small Latin,’ that his friend Ben Jonson assures us he was master of.” Gildon, Sewell, Upton, and others, have strenuously contended for young Shakspeare's scholarship and erudition; there is little evidence, however, that he ever enjoyed much of school-discipline; what learning he possessed was won for himself by his own strong and active understanding. The narrowness of his father's circumstances sufficiently account for his neglected education; but, after all, what occasion is there afforded us, while perusing his immortal pages, to regret his scantiness of school-learning? At the youthful age of eighteen, our poet entered into the connubial state. The wife he selected for himself was some eight years older than her husband; and the attachment—if any such ever existed—appears to have had little influence either on his mind or his fortunes. Shortly after the birth of his youngest child, Shakspeare quitted Stratford, and came up to the metropolis: his motive for taking this step is involved in obscurity. Rowe says that it was in consequence of his having got into a poaching scrape, and incurred the bitter resentment of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, by his ungracious behaviour during the legal proceedings which were instituted against him; but Malone throws discredit on the whole story, and contends that Shakspeare was induced to visit London by some actors who persuaded him to engage in the profession of a player. He was at this time about twenty-two years of age, and the first office which he filled on the stage was one of the lowest class. He soon rose, however, to a more elevated station among his Thespian brethren, although he does not appear ever to have sustained a leading part on the stage. The ghost in his own Hamlet was one of his best efforts; and

<sup>1</sup> Rowe.<sup>2</sup> Skottowe.

he is known to have been the representative of Adam in 'As You Like It.' If the names of the actors prefixed to 'Every Man in his Humour,' were arranged in the same order as the persons of the drama, he must have performed the part of 'Old Knowell' in that comedy. Whatever Shakspeare may have been in the practical part of his art, the speech which he has put into Hamlet's mouth, in his directions to the players, affords sufficient evidence that he understood the theory of the histrionic art perfectly well.

It is now impossible to fix the date of Shakspeare's first appearance as a dramatic writer. When he appeared in this character he had many illustrious cotemporaries, but no rival; at one bound he placed himself foremost and alone in the race of fame. "The cotemporaries of Shakspeare were great and remarkable men. They had winged imaginations, and made lofty flights. They saw above, below, or around; but they had not the taste or discrimination which he possessed, nor the same extensive vision. They drew correctly and vividly for particular aspects, while he towered above his subject, and surveyed it on all sides, from 'top to toe.' If some saw farther than others, they were dazzled at the riches before them, and grasped hastily, and with little care. They were perplexed with that variety which he made subservient to the general effect. They painted a portrait, or two, or three only, as though afraid of confusion. He, on the other hand, managed and marshalled all. His characters lie, like strata of earth, one under another; or, to use his own expression, 'matched in mouth like bells, each under each.' We need only look at the plays of Falstaff, where there are wits, and rogues, and simpletons, of a dozen shades,—Falstaff, Hal, Poins, Bardolph, Nym, Pistol, Hostess, Shallow, Silence, Slender,—to say nothing of those rich recruits, equal only to a civil war. Now, no one else has done this, and it must be presumed that none have been able to do it; Marlow, Marston, Webster, Decker, Jonson, Massinger, Beaumont and Fletcher,—a strong phalanx, yet none have proved themselves competent to so difficult a task."

Besides his thirty-six plays, commencing with the first part of Henry VI. and ending with the Tempest, all of which were certainly produced betwixt the years 1589 and 1613, Shakspeare wrote some poetical pieces which were published separately: viz. Venus and Adonis, The Rape of Lucrece, The Passionate Pilgrim, A Lover's Complaint, and a volume of Sonnets. These pieces have indeed been entirely eclipsed by the unrivalled splendour of dramas from the same pen, but they are noble compositions nevertheless, and worthy in all respects of the golden age of our literature. The Venus and Adonis, and the Rape of Lucrece, appeared in 1593-4, and were both dedicated to Henry Wriothesley, earl of Southampton. That young nobleman proved a munificent patron. Rowe relates, that on one occasion he presented the poet with a thousand pounds, a sum equivalent to at least five thousand pounds in our own day. The earls of Pembroke and Montgomery also vied with each other, and with Southampton, in the patronage of the rising dramatist, who was also soon still more highly flattered by the special notice and favour of Queen Elizabeth, at whose desire he is said to have composed his 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' with the view of exhibiting Falstaff in the character of a lover. How well Shakspeare knew to compliment royal vanity, the following lines in the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' testify:



"That very time I saw (but thou could'st not)  
 Flying between the cold moon and the earth,  
 Cupid all arm'd: a certain aim he took  
 At a fair vestal throned by the west;  
 And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow,  
 As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts:  
 But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft  
 Quench'd in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon;  
 And the imperial vot'ress pass on,  
 In maiden meditation, fancy free."

With such patronage, and such skill to avail himself of it, it is not matter of surprise that our poet, unlike too many of his gifted contemporaries, should have quickly improved his finances and risen in the world. So early as the year 1596, he possessed a share in the *Blackfriar's* theatre, and the next year he purchased one of the best houses in his native town, to which, in 1602, he added a small estate of one hundred and seven acres of land in the neighbourhood. Nor did this flow of worldly prosperity interrupt his friendly connexions with his less fortunate and probably less prudent brethren, although one at least of the gifted circle had been exalted by the public voice into the place of a rival. Much has been written about the secret enmity which is supposed to have existed between Jonson and Shakspeare, but the story has been amply disproved by Mr Gifford, who expresses his fixed persuasion that the two great dramatists were friends and associates till one of them finally retired from public notice; that no feud, no jealousy, ever disturbed their connexion; that Shakspeare was pleased with Jonson, and that Jonson loved and admired Shakspeare.

The profession of a player was certainly not congenial to our poet's inclinations. That he regarded himself as dishonoured by it appears from his CX. and CXI. sonnets, in which he expresses regret that he had

"Made himself a motley to the view;"

and bids his friend upbraid Fortune

"That did not better for his life provide  
 Than public means, which public manners breed."

He seems to have finally quitted the metropolis and retired to his beloved Stratford about the year 1613. Henceforward even tradition is silent regarding him. We only know that he died on the 23d of April 1616, the anniversary of his birth, and the same day on which expired, in Spain, his great contemporary Cervantes. On the 25th of April, his body was interred on the north side of the chancel of the parish church, where a monument was subsequently erected to his memory. In the year 1741, a very noble and beautiful monument was raised to him in Westminster abbey. His wife survived him eight years. He left two daughters who were both married, and from one of whom sprung Lady Barnard, our poet's last lineal descendant, who died in 1670.

The powers of language have been exhausted in dissertations upon the genius, and criticisms on the dramas of Shakspeare. The following masterly and eloquent encomium on our great dramatist, as coming

from the pen of a foreign critic, ought to be impartial at least: "The distinguishing property," says Schlegel, "of the dramatic poet is the capability of transporting himself so completely into every situation, even the most unusual, that he is enabled, as plenipotentiary of the whole human race, without particular instructions for each separate case, to act and speak in the name of every individual. It is the power of endowing the creatures of his imagination with such self-existent energy, that they afterwards act in each conjuncture according to general laws of nature: the poet institutes, as it were, experiments, which are received with as much authority as if they had been made on real objects. Never, perhaps, was there so comprehensive a talent for the delineation of character as Shakspeare's. It not only grasps the diversities of rank, sex, and age, down to the dawns of infancy; not only do the king and the beggar, the hero and the pickpocket, the sage and the idiot, speak and act with equal truth; not only does he transport himself to distant ages and foreign nations, and portray in the most accurate manner, with only a few apparent violations of costume, the spirit of the ancient Romans, of the French in their wars with the English, of the English themselves during a great part of their history, of the Southern Europeans (in the serious part of many comedies), the cultivated society of that time, and the former rude and barbarous state of the North; his human characters have not only such depth and precision that they cannot be arranged under classes, and are inexhaustible, even in conception:—no—this Prometheus not merely forms men, he opens the gates of the magical world of spirits; calls up the midnight ghost; exhibits before us his witches amidst their unhallowed mysteries; peoples the air with sportive fairies and sylphs:—and, these beings existing only in imagination, possess such truth and consistency, that, even when deformed monsters like Caliban, he extorts the conviction, that if there should be such beings, they would so conduct themselves. In a word, as he carried with him the most fruitful and daring fancy into the kingdom of nature,—on the other hand, he carries nature into the regions of fancy, lying beyond the confines of reality. We are lost in astonishment at seeing the extraordinary, the wonderful, and the unheard of, in such intimate nearness.

"If Shakspeare deserves our admiration for his characters, he is equally deserving it for his exhibition of passion, taking this word in its widest signification, as including every mental condition, every tone from indifference or familiar mirth to the wildest rage and despair. He gives us the history of minds; he lays open to us, in a single word, a whole series of preceding conditions. His passions do not at first stand displayed to us in all their height, as is the case with so many tragic poets, who, in the language of Lessing, are thorough masters of the legal style of love. He paints in a most inimitable manner, the gradual progress from the first origin. 'He gives,' as Lessing says, 'a living picture of all the most minute and secret artifices by which a feeling steals into our souls; of all the imperceptible advantages which it there gains; of all the stratagems by which every other passion is made subservient to it, till it becomes the sole tyrant of our desires and our aversions.' Of all poets, perhaps, he alone has portrayed the mental diseases, melancholy, delirium, lunacy, with such inexpressible, and, in every respect, definite truth, that the physician may enrich his observations from them in the same manner as from real cases.

"And yet Johnson has objected to Shakspeare, that his pathos is not always natural and free from affectation. There are, it is true, passages, though, comparatively speaking, very few, where his poetry exceeds the bounds of true dialogue, where a too soaring imagination, a too luxuriant wit, rendered the complete dramatic forgetfulness of himself impossible. With this exception, the censure originates only in a fanciless way of thinking, to which every thing appears unnatural that does not suit its own tame insipidity. Hence, an idea has been formed of simple and natural pathos, which consists in exclamations destitute of imagery, and nowise elevated above every-day life. But energetical passions electrify the whole of the mental powers, and will, consequently, in highly favoured natures, express themselves in an ingenious and figurative manner. It has been often remarked, that indignation gives wit; and, as despair occasionally breaks out into laughter, it may sometimes also give vent to itself in antithetical comparisons.

"Besides, the rights of the poetical form have not been duly weighed. Shakspeare, who was always sure of his object, to move in a sufficiently powerful manner when he wished to do so, has occasionally, by indulging in a freer play, purposely moderated the impressions when too painful, and immediately introduced a musical alleviation of our sympathy. He had not those rude ideas of his art which many moderns seem to have, as if the poet, like the clown in the proverb, must strike twice on the same place. An ancient rhetorician delivered a caution against dwelling too long on the excitation of pity; for nothing, he said, dries so soon as tears; and Shakspeare acted conformably to this ingenious maxim, without knowing it.

"The objection, that Shakspeare wounds our feelings by the open display of the most disgusting moral odiousness, harrows up the mind unmercifully, and tortures even our minds by the exhibition of the most insupportable and hateful spectacles, is one of much greater importance. He has never, in fact, varnished over wild and blood-thirsty passions with a pleasing exterior,—never clothed crime and want of principle with a false show of greatness of soul; and in that respect he is every way deserving of praise. Twice he has portrayed downright villains; and the masterly way in which he has contrived to elude impressions of too painful a nature, may be seen in Iago and Richard the Third. The constant reference to a petty and puny race must cripple the boldness of the poet. Fortunately for his art, Shakspeare lived in an age extremely susceptible of noble and tender impressions, but which had still enough of the firmness inherited from a vigorous olden time, not to shrink back with dismay from every strong and violent picture. We have lived to see tragedies of which the catastrophe consists in the swoon of an enamoured princess. If Shakspeare falls occasionally into the opposite extreme, it is a noble error, originating in the fulness of a gigantic strength: and yet this tragical Titan, who storms the heavens, and threatens to tear the world from off its hinges; who, more fruitful than Æschylus, makes our hair stand on end, and congeals our blood with horror, possessed, at the same time, the insinuating loveliness of the sweetest poetry. He plays with love like a child; and his songs are breathed out like melting sighs. He unites in his genius the utmost elevation and the utmost depth; and the most foreign, and even apparently irreconcilable properties, subsist in him peaceably together. The world of spirits and nature have laid all their treasures at his feet.

In strength a demi-god, in profundity of view a prophet, in all-seeing wisdom a protecting spirit of a higher order, he lowers himself to mortals, as if unconscious of his superiority; and is as open and unassuming as a child."<sup>1</sup>

## John Bull.

BORN CIRC. A. D. 1563.—DIED A. D. 1622.

THIS celebrated composer of music was born in Somersetshire, about the year 1563. Hawkins affirms that he was allied to the noble family of Somerset. He was educated under Blytheman, an organist highly celebrated in his day, but of whose compositions none are known to be now extant. In 1591, on the death of Blytheman, Bull was appointed organist and composer to the Queen's chapel; and, in 1592, he was created Doctor of Music by the university of Cambridge. On the foundation of the Gresham professorship of music, Dr Bull was first appointed to that chair, at the request of his royal mistress; but it appears that his scholarship, at least, was inadequate to the duties of this office, and that he required a special dispensation in his favour from the fundamental law of the institution, which directed the lectures to be read in Latin as well as in English. In the year 1601, Dr Bull went abroad for the benefit of his health, and travelled for some time incognito through France and Germany. On this occasion he is said to have astonished certain foreign musicians by his skill and facility in musical composition; and to have received various flattering invitations from foreign princes to fix himself at their courts. On Queen Elizabeth's death, he was appointed first organist to James I.; and, on the 16th of July, 1607, he had the honour to entertain his majesty and Prince Henry, who that day dined with the company at Merchant Tailors' Hall, "with excellent melodie upon a small payre of organs placed there for that purpose onlie." It would appear, from the investigations of Mr Clarke, that it was on this occasion that our national anthem of 'God save the King'—now ascertained to be the undoubted composition of Bull—was first performed in public, in celebration of the king's happy escape from the machinations of Guy Fawkes and his band of conspirators. In 1613, Dr Bull threw up all his situations in his native country, and went to reside in the Netherlands, where he was admitted into the service of the Archduke. He is supposed to have died abroad, about the year 1622; Wood says that he died at Hamburg, but some of his contemporaries have mentioned Lubeck as the place of his death.—Of Dr Bull's compositions, a long list is given by Ward in his lives of the Gresham professors. The only works of his in print, are lessons for the organ and virginals, in the collection called 'Parthenia,'—the anthem above-mentioned,—and one entitled 'Deliver me, O God!' in Barnard's collection of church-music. Dr Pepusch placed his lessons in a very high rank, not only for the harmony and contrivance, but for the air and modulation; from some of them we are led to form a high idea of the composer's powers of execution.

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on the Drama, vol. II.

## William Camden.

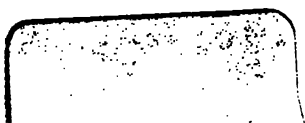


BORN A. D. 1551.—DIED A. D. 1623.

THIS eminent historian and antiquary, who has been styled by foreigners 'the British Pausanias,' was the son of Sampson Camden of Litchfield, who afterwards settled in London as a house-painter, where William was born on the 2d of May 1551. He received the rudiments of education in Christ's hospital, whence he was removed to St Paul's school. In his 15th year he was sent to Oxford, and admitted a servitor in Magdalen college, but being disappointed of a demy's place in this college, he removed to Broadgate hall, now Pembroke college. Here he attracted the attention of Dr Thornton, afterwards canon of Christ church; but although he continued to gain numerous friends within the university, he failed as a candidate for a fellowship in All Souls college, and in 1570 was refused the degree of A.B. for reasons which have not been assigned. It was about this period that he formed an acquaintanceship with Richard and George Carew, two gentlemen of family in Devonshire, whose example first incited him to antiquarian pursuits. In 1571, he appears to have removed to London, where he remained for some time; but, in 1573, we find him again at Oxford, and finally successful in his application for the degree of A.B. In 1575 he was appointed second master of Westminster school, through the interest of his friend Dr Goodman, dean of Westminster. In this situation he gave much satisfaction as a teacher of youth, and enlarged and strengthened his connections in life. His leisure hours he devoted to his favourite study of native antiquities, and to amassing materials for his great work the 'Britannia,' the scheme of which he had already sketched out in his mind. His daily increasing reputation as an antiquary procured him the friendship and correspondence of many eminent men of letters both at home and abroad. Among the latter were Justus Lipsius of Brussels, Jacobus Doussa of the Hague, and Gruter of Antwerp, and Ortelius the geographer, and Brisson of Paris. Among the most accomplished and munificent of his English friends was Sir Philip Sydney, who furnished him with some valuable materials for his projected work, besides making him many considerable presents. In 1582, he undertook a tour throughout a considerable portion of England for the purpose of collecting materials for the illustrations of its antiquities upon the spot; he likewise purchased several valuable MSS., and made most laborious researches in the various offices of record. At length, after ten years of indefatigable industry, the first edition of the 'Britannia' was published in 1586, in one volume 8vo. This elaborate work was written in Latin, and dedicated to Lord-treasurer Burleigh. Its title in English was, "Britain, or a chorographical description of the flourishing kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the adjacent islands, from the most remote antiquity." In 1594, a fourth edition of the Britannia, with numerous enlargements, the fruit of fresh researches and personal inquiries, was published in one volume 4to. In 1589, he was presented to a prebend in the cathedral of Salisbury, which he enjoyed during his life







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